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A

DISCOURSE

BEFORE THE

YOUNG MEN'S

COLONIZATION SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA,

DELIVERED OCTOBER 24, 1834, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BY

J. R. TYSON.

WITH A NOTICE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, AND OF THEIR FIRST EXPEDITION OF COLOURED EMIGRANTS TO FOUND A COLONY AT BASSA COVE.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1834.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" NAPOLI

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Printed by William S. Martien,
No. 9 George street.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, held November 11th, 1834, the following Resolution, offered by Dr. John Bell, was unanimously and cordially approved, viz:

Resolved, That the Board of Managers, in the name of the Society, return their grateful acknowledgments to Job R. Tyson, Esq. for his appropriate and excellent Discourse, delivered before the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, on the 24th of October, 1834, and that a copy of the same, be requested of the Author for publication.

Extract from the Minutes.

Topliff Johnson,

Secretary of the Board of Managers.

Philadelphia, Dec. 5, 1834.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

The Author of the following Discourse will regret if it should give pain to any person or party. He himself belongs to no party whatever. The call which was made upon him, imposed the duty of expressing his opinions fully and fearlessly, and he trusts that he has discharged the obligation in a spirit of temperance and candour. As it is of little moment to others what opinions he may choose to entertain or express, his chief solicitude has been lest the cause might be injured by his lame exposition and imperfect defence.

The writer does not intend to become a gladiator in this arena. He hopes, therefore, to be pardoned for saying, that the limits prescribed to an oration, precluded that full array of fact and argument which the topic requires. From this cause, he has left untouched several considerations which he would gladly have introduced, and been prevented from pursuing others which are barely started. Some of these are concisely hinted at in the form of notes.

Owing to the necessity of compression on the one hand, and the want of skill on the other, he has, no doubt, been guilty of the fault noticed, after Horace, by Boileau:

"J évite d'être long, et je deviens obscur."

DISCOURSE.

On this day has sailed from the port of Norfolk, the good ship Ninus, laden with one hundred and twenty-six of the enfranchised sons and daughters of Africa. Like the worthy and persecuted associates of William Penn, these voyagers seek shelter from oppression in a foreign clime. Delivered from the fetters of bondage by the active philanthropy of this association, they seek, in the establishment of a new colony, the enjoyment of freedom. They embark, the first emigrants to the *Pennsylvan Colony*, on the one hundred and fifty-second anniversary of the arrival of Penn, with the first English settlers, on the shores of the Delaware! With a coincidence so remarkable, an omen so auspicious, may the vessel spread her canvass to benignant winds! Bearing with her the elements of an independent empire, may Heaven penetrate the hearts of her passengers with the magnitude of their enterprise, and illumine their minds to direct it with wisdom! What friend of humanity will refuse his gratitude and joy, at the rescue of one hundred and twenty-six human beings from the jaws of slavery? Who will not sympathise with those pleasurable and intense emotions, which the event is calculated to excite in the hearts of its fortunate instruments?

The reflections which the departure of this band of adventurers must awaken, are peculiar and cheering. In the possession of present comfort, and joyous with anticipations of unqualified freedom and future plenty, how unlike the condition of their unhappy ancestors, borne from the cherished

land of their fathers, with the cruel prospect before them of perpetual exile and hopeless servitude! To the mind of sensibility it is consoling to reflect, that we restore to Africa, as intelligent and free, the posterity of her sons, whom we received as barbarous and enslaved! It is consoling to reflect, that we send them not 'empty away,' but carrying the fruits of light and knowledge, and capable of scattering their precious seeds upon a soil which has lain neglected and buried, for centuries, in the grossest ignorance and night.

Such is the first step which the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania have taken in this sphere of benevolent exertion. The origin of the body is but of yesterday; but its active existence has been the means of conferring important benefits upon the parent Institution. It has infused into its veins the inspiriting virtue of youthful blood, with its impulsive energy. As a branch of the chief establishment at Washington, it will act upon similar views, and aim at similar results.

As an association formed in Pennsylvania, guiding and directing the destinies of a colony bearing its honoured name, it will seek the establishment of those cardinal doctrines of government which rendered Penn illustrious, and his province happy. It will imitate the colonial policy of a Founder, conceded to be far-sighted and virtuous. It will infix as corner-stones in the *Pennsylvan* fabric the principles which he inculcated and practised; the principles of *toleration* and *temperance*—of unbroken *faith* and universal *peace*. It will aim, in unison with the parent Society, at those practical blessings to the American negro and the native African, which it was the great design of that institution to promote and subserve.

The occasion, therefore, is opportune to recall the reasons which suggested the formation of the American Colonization Society, and to take a glance at her leading principles and purposes, as they are understood and acted upon in Pennsylvania.

The distinguished honour of proposing a Society, as it was afterwards modelled, for the colonization of the free blacks

upon the coast of Africa, belongs to Dr. Finley, of New Jersey. It dates its existence, as an organized company, in the beginning of the year 1817, upwards of thirty years after the formation of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, the parent of perhaps all the similar institutions in this country. Let us survey the wide field of enterprise which the condition and prospects of the degraded and wretched sons of Africa presented, at that period, to the mind of enlightened benevolence.

The introduction of negro slavery into this country belongs to its provincial history. It must go in reduction of that debt which we owe to our ancestors—it is an incumbrance connected with our English inheritance. Thirteen years after the settlement on the James river, a ship load of Africans, from the coast of Guinea, was sold to the planters. Multitudes, in Virginia and the other colonies, were soon after added. New supplies were in a course of constant arrival. At length the influx becoming onerous, and the injustice of the traffic apparent, further importation was prohibited by law. Slaves being thus admitted, and being cherished in the southern latitudes on account of their alleged necessity and great number, the revolution swept by without effecting their emancipation. Legal provision has since been made for the gradual removal of slavery in the states north of the Potomac, but on the south it continues to exist without a sensible change.

In other countries servitude has no doubt been in practice, more oppressive, being less restrained by benignant legislation and the moral tone of society. The laws in all the slave-holding states, protect the slave in the enjoyment of those qualified rights which are compatible with its recognition, as a legal system. But with these assuasives the system prevails, and is attended with too many revolting appendages ever to have the approbation of disinterested and dispassionate men. It is opposed to the genius of our institutions, and at war with that principle of human equality which forms at once our political profession and our national boast. It sinks its unhappy victim to the dust, and prevents

him from growing to that moral and intellectual stature benefiting the dignity of a sentient being.

Ἤμισυ, γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποίνυνται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς,
Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μὶν κατὰ δέλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσιν.—Od. 17. 323.

Its effects upon the master who lives under it, and upon the country which tolerates it, are only less baleful and ruinous. Look for a moment at the condition of our southern country, where, as well in its moral as its physical aspects, can be seen the sweeping desolation of its blight. The vice of indolence, and those other vices which march in the train of inaction, are but too perceptible on every hand. With all the advantages of a favourable position for commerce, a genial climate and luxuriant soil, we find deserted wharves, grass grown streets, and exhausted fallows. Instead of the hardy race which should fix upon solid ground the deep foundations of our republican edifice, we find them luxurious and effeminate, unequal to those vigorous exertions which a new system in a new country requires.* Those who cannot maintain the style of gentlemen, seek subsistence in other states where labour is honourable and its recompense less contingent. Thus sapped of its strength, its enterprising spirits banished by an inexorable necessity—its magnificent fields neglected and uncultivated—its inhabitants emasculate by indulgence,

"The country blooms a garden and a grave."

To change so lamentable a condition of things—to restore man to his civil dignity, if not his native *worth*—to wrest

* Montesquieu attempts to lessen our estimate of the evils of servitude, in despotic countries, by alleging that the condition of a slave is hardly more burdensome than that of a subject. Though his ideas of the African race and of negro slavery, are alike abhorrent and unphilosophical, (See Sp. L. 15 B. 5 chap.) he is nevertheless aware of the inconsistency of slavery with political institutions which aim at, or establish equality. In relation to such governments, he says, "*slavery is contrary to the spirit of the constitution; it only contributes to give a power and luxury to the citizens which they ought not to have.*" (Sp. L. 15 B. 1 Chap.) Of its effects upon the master, he says, "he contracts all manner of bad habits with his slaves, he accustoms himself insensibly to the want of all moral virtues, he grows fierce, hasty, severe, voluptuous and cruel."—Sp. L. 15 B. 1. Chap.

from destruction those virtues which droop if they be not carefully cherished—were among the original objects of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania. This institution was composed of men of the first distinction and merit; men who, fired by that liberty which the revolution established, were willing to render that liberty universal. They laboured for the general cause of the African, both bond and free. Though legal *emancipation* was the primary object of their convention, their comprehensive and benevolent plan embraced in connexion with it, the abolition of the slave trade, and the assistance and elevation of the African race. Schools were formed under competent teachers, and these were watched with the most anxious and unremitted assiduity. The operations of the Society, as a corporate body, were commenced in the year 1789, but it has, in fact, been in energetic agency, since about the year 1785. Nearly half a century has witnessed the devoted zeal of this philanthropic institution. Is it premature or invidious to inquire by what fruits its efforts have been distinguished? After the lapse of so many years, after the application of intense and persevering labour, if success has neither been realized nor loomed at a distance, is it unfair or unreasonable to doubt the final result of the experiment?

The abolition of our system of slavery in Pennsylvania was in 1780, a period of nearly five years before the organization of the Abolition Society. Is it a derogation from its claim to unquestioned benevolence to deny to it, as a body, any instrumentality in the enactment of the abolition law? The association was not in being at the period of its passage. The merit of the measure is to be ascribed to the profound sense entertained by the legislature, of the injustice and evils of slavery, incited as they were by Benezet* and other distinguished philanthropists.

The statute abolished hereditary servitude, and provided

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* In the Life of Benezet, page 92, I find the following account of his instrumentality in the passage of the act. "During the sitting of the legislature in 1780, a session memorable for the enaction of a law which commenced the

for the freedom of the future generation of existing slaves, but those who were then in existence received no benefit from its provisions.* In 1790, which was ten years after the passage of the act, and five after the formation of the Society, there were nearly four thousand slaves in the state. The number has been gradually diminishing, but at the census of 1830, there were in Pennsylvania, sixty-seven slaves, the most of whom will irremediably continue till death, the absolute property of their masters.† This remnant of legal bondage has remained unimpaired and unaffected by the exertions of the Abolition Society, whose laudable zeal in the maintenance of human rights, must be greatly scandalised by its continuance. In Connecticut and Rhode Island slavery was abolished four years after its inheritable quality was expunged from the code of Pennsylvania, but slaves were permitted to exist, and are now actually in being, by the operation of their statutes. In New Jersey, according to the census of 1830, there existed the large number of two thousand two hundred and forty-six slaves.

Nor must a fact be omitted in this connexion, that the rapid diminution of slaves at the north, is not solely to be ascribed to the virtue of unaided statutes, but partly to *sales*

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gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, *he had private interviews on the subject, with every member of the government*, and no doubt thus essentially contributed to the adoption of that celebrated measure."—*Life of Anthony Benezet by Roberts Vaux.*

* In the case of *Miller* v. *Dwilling*, decided in the year 1826, and reported in the 14th volume of Sergeant and Rawle's Reports, page 442, Judge Tilghman was called upon to give a construction to the act of 1780. He decides several interesting points, the first of which is, "That the legislature, anxious as it was to abolish slavery, thought it unjust to violate the right which every owner of a slave had to his service; and, therefore, every person who, at the time of passing the act, was a slave, was to remain a slave."

† The number of slaves in Pennsylvania, as returned in the census of 1830, is three hundred and eighty-six. I have adopted in the text the number reported by a select Committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania, who were appointed to investigate the cause of the increase since the year 1820, when the number returned was but two hundred and eleven. The Committee exclude from the computation all who were not in being when the abolition act was passed. *Vide Journal of the Senate for* 1832-3, *page* 483.

made to persons in the slave-holding districts, in anticipation or fraud of the law. Thus many unfortunate men, whose posterity by law would be free, or whose personal servitude would expire at a given period, by being sent beyond the pale of our jurisdiction, became bound by new and infrangible fetters. In the adjoining states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, legal servitude survives. If a sentiment has been imbibed in either, or all of these, unfavourable to its continuance, it is only justice and candour to admit that it has arisen from the efforts of their own philanthropists, and the influence of those internal causes which foreign argument or remonstrance could neither prevent nor accelerate. The whole South may be appealed to for the truth of the assertion, that certain measures ascribed there to the Abolition Societies, in exciting estrangement and hostility towards the North, have had the effect of silencing inquiry into the justice or policy of the system. Ill-judging individuals have greatly contributed to this alienation and repugnance. Assuming, as a principle, that man could not be legitimately the subject of property, it was thought to be a meritorious act to screen from re-capture, the fugitive who should seek an asylum within our borders. Numerous fugitives from the southern states have thus been enabled, either by connivance or active assistance, to elude the pursuit of their masters. In vain was it alleged, that the re-delivery of the slave to his legal owner, was a right recognised in the federal Constitution, and protected by express legislative enactment.* In vain was it predicted that such resistance

* The 2d Section of the 4th Art. of the Constitution of the United States provides, that "no person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such labour or service is due." A similar provision in regard to fugitives from justice, immediately precedes this rule in regard to slaves. The learned Du Ponceau, in his "Brief View of the Constitution of the United States," thus expresses his sense of this two-fold provision, page 45: "Fugitives from justice, and from personal service or labour, are to be delivered up, on being demanded in the manner prescribed by the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof." Accordingly, an

to rights, acknowledged by the laws of a sister state, would kindle into a flame those jealousies and suspicions which the accidents of commerce too frequently engender between independent and contiguous states. In vain were his abettors reminded of the effects which such interference must inevitably produce, in tightening the bonds of the slave by all such additional cords as the security of his person at home would render necessary. In vain were they admonished that the retention of a fugitive would prove injurious to the interests of Philadelphia, by the invitation it offered to others to make this city their refuge. In vain were they solemnly adjured, that by exciting indignant feelings at the south, they marred the prospect of legislative emancipation—that by concealing or harbouring a few runaways, sometimes the worst of the class, they forged new manacles for those who remained in bondage. Persuasion and remonstrance too often proved wholly ineffectual; for what could these effect against a line of conduct prompted by compassion for the slave, and the belief that it was a sacred duty to protect him?*

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act of Congress was passed on the 12th of February, 1793, entitled, "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters." The object of this enactment was to point out the mode by which fugitive slaves shall be restored to their masters in the states from which they may have escaped. The Abolition Act of Pennsylvania, which became a law upwards of seven years before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, is very explicit upon the subject of fugitive slaves from other States, although it aimed at the ultimate destruction of our domestic slavery. The 11th section provides, "that the said act, or any thing contained in it, should not give any relief or shelter to any absconding or runaway negro or mulatto slave or servant, who had absented himself, or should absent himself from his or her owner, master, or mistress, residing in any other state or country, but such owner, master, or mistress should have like right and aid to demand, claim, and take away his slave or servant, as he might have had in case the said act had not been made." It can hardly create surprise, that the slaveholder, smarting under pecuniary loss, should feel little respect for the man whose philanthropy could lead him to violate rights which were thus recognised by the Constitution of the United States, by act of Congress, and by the local legislation of his own state.

*Among the old abolitionists who paid respect to the legal institutions of the country, I may name the late Elisha Tyson, of Baltimore, whose efforts in the cause of abolition were so successful, that he is said to have been instrumental in liberating, during his life, two thousand slaves from bondage! His

I do not impute to the Society, as a body, the maintenance of such principles nor their reduction into practice. Its venerable and distinguished President* never would sanction or connive at a course of action so hostile to sound policy, and the dominion of municipal and constitutional law. But whoever may have been instrumental in producing it, the consequence is a decided repugnance at the South to all the acts of Abolition Societies. Their counsels are derided or bitterly laughed at, and their speeches and tracts, being branded as 'incendiary,' are neither listened to nor regarded. Nothing emanating from such a quarter, receives the decency of respect or attention. When the tranquillity of sober reflection is disturbed by objects of excitement, it is easy to adopt extravagant sentiments and to suggest new and plausible reasons in their defence. It was in this state of the public sensibilities at the South, that the doctrine of state rights was appealed to for the purpose of opposing the encroachments of Northern philanthropists. The cry was heard, that their laws were insulted and their property invaded by men who had nothing to lose by the toleration or extinction of slavery; that a society of another state which had abolished its domestic system, were assailing their own local institutions. The pride of the South coming to the aid of its passions and interest soon extinguished all hope of affecting their

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intelligent biographer says: "During the whole course of Mr. Tyson's philanthropic exertions, he was strongly characterized for the profound deference which he paid to the laws of the land. * * * Not only because this is one of the conditions upon which every citizen has a right to continue in the community, but also because the encouraging of disobedience to the laws in one respect, would be the promoting of it in another; disobedience would grow into rebellion, and rebellion end in the total subversion of the state. It was for these reasons that his appeals in behalf of the persecuted Africans were made either to the clemency of individuals, or to the justice of the civil judge. * * * But those cases wherein argument and persuasion were unavailable, he submitted to the legal tribunals of the country; and having placed them there, left them to the future care of those whose oaths bound them to do justice."—*Life of Elisha Tyson*, p. 13, 14.

* William Rawle LL. D., the author of the well known and able work on the Constitution of the United States.

system of slavery, except through the agency of bodies formed by themselves, and of measures in which they could personally co-operate. Legislative emancipation, as a phantom, thus eluded their grasp. Other important objects now claimed their attention. These were the destruction of the slave trade; the protection of the personal rights of the man of colour; and the exaltation of his moral and mental being. The department of elevating the negro, a duty of the most pleasing but delicate and arduous nature, must, if properly understood, lead to the most beneficial results. In this province, so peculiarly and justly their own, they have laboured with an ardour which no difficulties could cool, no opposition extinguish. I claim to be an humble advocate of African rights, and a determined enemy to African oppression. I would place them where their personal merits would entitle them to stand, maugre all the baneful prejudices which their distinctive condition has fomented. But do the laws of Pennsylvania deny to them any civil or political privilege? Do they invidiously point out and distinguish the freeman, because he wears a dark complexion,

"The shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun?"

The freeman of colour is here constituted a *free citizen*, with all the incidents of absolute denization. But though in possession of all the freedom which laws can confer, and aided by a society who have taught him the use of letters and the obligations of moral and religious duty, he is yet very low in the scale of moral virtue. In elucidation of this, a reference to the statistics of our prisons and penitentiaries is all that is requisite. In the year 1827, when the white population of Pennsylvania amounted to one million two hundred thousand, and the black only to thirty thousand souls, the criminals confined at the penitentiary at Philadelphia, consisted of one hundred and twenty-one blacks, and one hundred and seventy-three whites. According to the census of 1830, the population of Pennsylvania was one million three hundred and forty-

seven thousand six hundred and seventy-two persons, of which number there were thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and ninety free coloured inhabitants. The number of prisoners in the three penitentiaries of the state, at the end of that year, was five hundred and ninety-eight, of which two hundred and fifty-three were blacks. If the convictions among the white population were in the same proportion with the black, instead of there being three hundred and forty-five convicts in the different penitentiaries of the state, an immense and overwhelming multitude, would present of *between eight and nine thousand!* Nor is there in the magnitude of the crimes committed, a perceptible difference. Among those offences which are supposed to exhibit the highest degree of moral turpitude, such as larceny, robbery, burglary, and arson, the relative proportion of whites and blacks seems to be nearly equal. It has sometimes been argued, in explanation of so lamentable a disparity, that the conviction of a coloured man is procured with more facility than that of a white. All experience of our criminal courts rejects the imputation as unfounded. It affects too deeply the integrity and justice of our judicial tribunals, to be countenanced or discussed without adequate and particular proof. No; the fact cannot be reasoned against, explained, or impaired, and however reluctant we may feel to admit the moral inferiority of the black man in Pennsylvania, the conclusion is altogether irresistible.*

Though the statistics of our prisons show the black citizen

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* Heber tell us that the prisons of Moscow and other places in Russia, were chiefly filled with slaves, most of whom were in irons. The convictions of slaves in the slave-holding states of this union, show the most deplorable disproportion to those of the whites. Travellers find the prisons crowded with slaves.

For the purpose of contemplating the same men under more favourable circumstances, we must consider them, *not* in the free state of Pennsylvania, for as I have demonstrated in the text, mere legal freedom confers no exemption from crime, *but in Liberia.* Governor Mechlin says: "As to the morals of the colonists, (of Liberia) I consider them much better than those of the people of the United States; that is, you may take an equal number of the inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunk-

to be more depraved than the white, it must not be forgotten, that reasons can be assigned for it, without alleging the existence of ingenerate evil beyond the common lot of humanity. All philosophy proves, that man must be incited to virtue and to greatness, by the impulses of honourable ambition and the hopes of reward. We find men starting from the sinks of vice and the obscurity of indigence, and winning their way to wealth, honour and distinction, amid a thousand obstacles, and a thousand obstructions. Even the dignity of patrician rank, in England, intrenched as it is behind inveterate customs, and all the outposts of princely wealth, has been invaded by the daring encroachments of plebeian merit. But however elevated the natural spirit, it will

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ards, more profane swearers and Sabbath-breakers, &c., than in Liberia. You rarely hear an oath, and as to riots and breaches of the peace, I recollect of but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, that has come under my notice since I assumed the government of the colony." Capt. Sherman says, "There is a greater proportion of moral and religious characters in Monrovia than in this city," (Philadelphia.) Capt. Abels, who spent thirteen days in the settlement, in the early part of 1832, thus attests the moral condition of the colony; "I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a minister of the Gospel, on Christmas-day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist Church, to full and attentive congregations, of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia." The following testimony is borne by Simpson and Moore, who visited the colony together. "We noticed, particularly, the moral state of things, and during our visit, saw but one man who appeared to be intemperate, and but two who used any profane language. We think the settlers more moral, as a people, than the citizens of the United States." It is to be wished, that we had more recent information of the state of the criminal calendar. Capt. Sherman, who was in Liberia in 1830, furnishes the latest news upon this subject. It is, however, all that the most sanguine mind could anticipate. That gentleman says, "To the honour of the emigrants, be it mentioned, that but *five* of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanour, since 1827." During these three years, which produced but five convictions 'for stealing or misdemeanour,' the population of the emigrants averaged one thousand five hundred souls. Now, if the moral character of the colonists of Liberia, were not *better* than that of the free blacks of Pennsylvania in the year 1830, instead of *five* convictions, there would have been sextuple that amount; that is to say, if the convictions in Liberia were in the same proportion to the population, as among the free blacks of Pennsylvania, instead of *five*, there would have been *thirty* convictions in those three years!

remain tame or torpid without some stirring incentive, some powerful stimulus to action. When intellectual superiority or moral virtue is held in estimation, when its possessor is admired and venerated, we find numerous candidates for the honours attendant upon its acquisition. Why is all this? Because, in the absence of legal impediment, humble merit is sure of success, if it be seconded by the feelings and sympathies of the people. But can the aspirations of the negro in this country be awakened by a similar hope? He feels himself the descendant of a *slave*, and essentially distinguished from the mass around him. He sees the European foreigner, however differing from us in language and habits, possess every exterior resemblance, and give to his posterity the characteristics of the nation he has adopted. He sees his own offspring but the counterpart of himself, and they likely to transmit their inheritance to their successors from generation to generation. He sees that a repugnance arising from his ancestry and complexion, prevents him from enjoying those rights which the laws accord to him. He feels, that though benevolent solicitude for his caste has been alert for nearly a century, yet the mere privilege of *voting*—that franchise, without which, liberty is but an empty name, is denied him at the peril of his life. He feels that social communion with the white man, upon equal terms, is a franchise more difficult to purchase than that of suffrage to exercise. He feels that the very kindness which he experiences, is a kind of abstract, short-lived sympathy, at a distance, rather than prompted by the admission of undisputed equality, or the desire of nearer approach. Thus seeing and thus reasoning, is it surprising that his moral and intellectual nature has not yielded to long-continued and sedulous care? Promising himself little from the pursuits of industry, or the practice of virtue, save the gratifications of animal existence, and the peaceful consciousness of acting well, he gives up both in despair.

In such a state of things it has been suggested, that it is the part of Christian philanthropy to break down the idle prejudices of lineage and colour by offering to

the coloured man the refinements of society, and to admit him to full participation in the endearments of social intercourse. Let those who inculcate these doctrines set before us the spectacle of their own bright example. Let them, if they can, thus violate all the sanctities of feeling, all the heart felt charities of private life; let them, if they can, *upon Christian principles,* make the invidious distinction between the negro and his own correspondent class among the whites. An exaltation of the negro above the head of his white compeer, would bo unavoidably attended with a twofold impropriety and absurdity. The exclusion of the latter of equal deserts is indefensible, invidious and unjust, while the admission of the former, places him in a station for which he is unfit, and by which he is incapable of deriving advantage. A forced and unnatural union, repugnant alike to reason and to feeling, must ever be the parent of infelicity. But the projectors of amalgamation not having reached that point of moral sublimity which can overlook these various objections, it may be considered as a question broached, rather as a metaphysical abstraction, than with the hope, desire, or expectation of ever seeing it reduced to practice. As the negro, in this country, is from the causes adverted to, curtailed of his moral and mental proportions, it seems rather the dictate of enlightened benevolence to frame plans for his ulterior improvement and practical melioration, than to seek to render him odious by a premature, an indiscreet, and unnatural elevation.

Such being the results of long continued and strenuous efforts at abolition, and such the condition and prospects of the free coloured population, it seemed to be desirable, that a new essay should be made, offering more hopeful expectations of success. It was seen that little had been done at the North, and that the great work of Southern Abolition could not be advanced by companies in the free states. It was seen that statutory disability existed to prevent private enfranchisements, unless accompanied by removal from the slave holding territory. It was seen that the free negroes of the United States, stinted and restrained in regard to the finer

properties and higher attributes which characterise humanity in positions favourable to its growth and cultivation, were abridged of those common enjoyments which usually fall to the lot of man in a free country. It was under these circumstances, and with these impressions, that the Colonization Society grew into being. Though commenced in the North, it met with approbation in the South, and from the era of its establishment to the present time, both the North and the South have harmoniously united in the projects of an enterprise so transcendently good and glorious. The simple scheme of removing to Africa all who should consent to emigrate, would, it was honestly believed, promote the ultimate hopes of the Abolition Societies. Let these institutions, by mental and moral culture, prepare the negro for self-government in his father-land. Let them unfold to the free blacks the advantages which are likely to accrue to themselves, their brethren, and posterity, from erecting free governments in Africa. Let them paint to their imaginations, with pencils glowing with the greatness of the truth, the enjoyments of unrestrained liberty and perfect equality, in a region designed by nature, both in its climate and productions, for their exclusive possession.* Let them awaken their ambition as the

* There seems to be a peculiar fitness in placing the negro in Africa, when it is recollected that large portions of its immense tracts are suited only to *his* constitution. The white man will languish and die beneath a sun which is congenial to the animal nature of the black man. Nature herself, therefore, would seem to concur with this philanthropy, unless it be thought that she designed those regions, which are so well calculated for the residence of the latter, and for him only, to lie waste and uninhabited. Capt. Nicholson, of the U. S. Navy, says of Liberia, which he visited in 1828, "It was, I believe, never intended that the white man should inhabit this region of the globe: at least, we know that the diseases of this climate are more fatal to him than to the man of colour. They luxuriate in the intense heat, while a white man sinks under its exhausting influence." I cannot forbear from quoting, in confirmation of these views, some judicious remarks of a learned writer in a late number of the Phrenological Journal of Edinburgh. "If we look," says he, "to that well marked and vast peninsula called Africa, we find that equally marked race, the negro, with slight modifications, forming its native population throughout all its regions. We find the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, the very texture of his wool-like hair, all fitting him for the vertical sun of Africa; and if every surviving African of the present day, who is living

founders of a future commonwealth, to be virtuous and enlightened, rich in the ownership of multiplied blessings, and widely diffusive in the effects of example and influence. If they do this, we shall find the American negro, now dwindled in his morals and intellect, developing those latent capacities and inborn energies, which, though oppression might check or conceal, it could not uproot and destroy. We shall find him planting a tree in the midst of a howling desert, bearing the rich fruits of religion, civilization, and liberty, and inviting to the covert of its thick spreading branches and clustering foliage, the people of a continent which has lain so long exposed, uncovered, defenceless, and oppressed.

The direct and incidental effects of Colonization are very large and expansive. They are not limited to a qualified benefit resulting to the free blacks only, at the expense of injury to the slave, but comprehend in their wide range the cause of abolition, the absolute disenthraling of the man of colour, the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa. For the accomplishment of these great purposes, an extensive region of sea-coast has been selected on the western side of the African continent, stretching two hundred and eighty miles from the river Gallinas on the north, to the territory of Kroo Settra on the south. Being intended for the abode of freemen, this extensive domain bears the appropriate title, *Liberia*. The actual jurisdiction of the Colony, at present, extends one hundred and fifty miles from Cape Mount to Trade Town. Between these points is beautifully situated, at Bassa Cove, the locality of the *Pennsylvan Colony*. A few leagues beyond the northern limits of

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in degradation and destitution in other lands, for which *he was never intended*, were actually restored to the *peculiar land* of his *peculiar race*, in independence and comfort, would any man venture to affirm, that Christianity had been lost sight of by all who had in any way contributed to such a consummation? It matters not to brotherly love on which side of the Atlantic the negro is made enlightened, virtuous, and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it does matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is *only one* where he will be as happy and respectable as benevolence would wish to see him, and certainly *there*, a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed."

Liberia, stretches the more ancient settlement of Sierra Leone, and at its southern extremity stands the flourishing little establishment at Cape Palmas. A glance at the map of Africa, discovers a continuous line of sea-coast from the north-west to the south-east of five hundred miles, which is now dotted by prosperous and Christian communities. These are the green spots which the plastic hand of Colonization has formed out of a trackless region of boundless wilderness. The selection made, it is supposed, embraces more advantages of fertility, site, salubrity, and commerce, than any other which the extensive western coast of Africa affords.

The first settlement at Liberia was in the year 1822. It now includes about ten thousand citizens who have submitted to regular government. Of these several thousands belong to the native tribes who have voluntarily placed themselves under its protection; many hundred are recaptured Africans; and the remainder are emigrants from this country. Here is the germ of a powerful and independent commonwealth, destined, perhaps, to carry into the heart, and to the remote extremities of Africa, our religion, laws, civilization, and language.

The fierceness of opposition, and the easiness of popular credulity, have combined in casting the most cruel aspersions upon the condition and prospects of Liberia. The mistakes of agents and the temporary miscarriage of favourite plans, have been magnified into events of vital and insuperable consequence. Its existing state has been represented to adventurers as supremely unhappy, and the country, in point of climate, as a yawning tomb. The least examination will show that these assertions are without adequate basis, and that the colony, both in climate and the prosperous condition of its inhabitants, presents the most flattering inducements to emigrants.—All new countries in a course of improvement, are liable to the visitation of febrile distempers. The decomposition of that decaying vegetable matter which their falling forests constantly supply, must furnish nutriment to disease. Change of residence from a temperate to a tropical climate, must likewise impart an injurious influ-

ence. In Liberia, these causes concur and are in full operation, without giving rise to greater mortality than happens in the most salutary districts of our western country.* Better evidence need not be adduced of the salu-

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* The truth of the declaration in the text, can be well established by citations from the reports of the agents of the parent Society, and the writings of respectable and disinterested visitors. I shall confine myself to a few quotations. In February, 1828, Dr. Mechlin writes, "This month, although called by those resident here, the sickly season, has not, to judge from the few cases of illness that have come under my notice, merited that appellation. *Indeed, I do not know any part of the United States where the proportion of the sick is not fully as great as here*, and the cases of a refractory nature are almost all yielding to medicine." In April, the same gentleman, referring to the newly arrived emigrants, says, "I never saw any fever in the United States yield more readily to medicine than the country fever, among the emigrants, at this season." In August, he writes, "that only four or five cases of sickness exist, and that at no time had health been more generally enjoyed." In December, Dr. Randall writes thus: "The climate, during this month, is most delightful. Though this is regarded as the sickly season, we have but little disease, and none of an alarming character." During this period, when, according to Mechlin, only *four or five cases of sickness* existed, the population of the emigrants was about twelve hundred persons. In the circular Address of the Colonists to the Free People of Colour of the United States, published about the same time with these testimonies of the *physicians* of the Colony, we find this candid and intelligent representation of their experience and prospects in regard to *health*. "We enjoy health, after a few month's residence in the country, as uniformly and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has for the last two years been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points there are, and have been, much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentation in the United States. * * * Several out of every ship's company have, within the last four years, been carried off by sickness, caused by the change of climate. And death occasionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to the time of his residence in this country. But we never hoped, by leaving America, to escape the common lot of mortals—the necessity of death, to which the just appointment of heaven consigns us. *But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness as yourselves.*

"The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. *Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country.* Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this Colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to

brity of the climate, than the fact, that the black inhabitants of the Southern states are scarcely sensible of change. They seldom contract the fever to which emigrants from the Northern latitudes are frequently subject. Misgivings of the

affect the health, more or less—and, in the case of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the Colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness. * * But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and for the last two or three years, *not one person in forty, from the middle and southern States*, has died from the change of climate."

Capt. Nicholson, of the United States Navy, who had visited Liberia on his return from a cruise in the Mediterranean, thus writes to Henry Clay, under date of the 17th March, 1828:

"The population is now twelve hundred, and is healthy and thriving. The children born in the country are fine looking, and I presume can be raised as easily as those of the natives. All the colonists with whom I had any communication, (and with nearly the whole I did communicate in person, or by my officers,) expressed their decided wish to remain in their present situation, rather than to return again to the United States."

Capt. Sherman, who, in the year 1830, conducted to Liberia fifty-eight emigrants from this country, and who was there for three weeks, in the month of March, thus speaks his honest impressions:

"It has been objected that the climate is very unhealthy—this is true as respects the whites, but erroneous as respects the coloured people. Those from the middle and northern States have to undergo what is called a seasoning—that is, they generally take the fever the first month of their residence, but it has rarely proved fatal, since accommodations have been prepared for their reception; those from Georgia, the Carolinas, and the southern parts of Virginia, either escape the fever altogether, or have it very slightly. Deaths occur there, indeed, as in other places, but Doctor Mechlin, the agent, assured me that *the bills of mortality would show a less proportion of deaths, than those of Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.*"

Simpson and Moore, two intelligent and respectable coloured men, visited the different settlements in the summer of 1832, and report their sense of the health of the country as follows: "Wherever we went, the people appeared to enjoy good health; and a more healthy looking people, particularly the children, we have not seen in the United States. * * * Our own health, while in the Colony, was perfectly good, although we were much exposed to the night air." (Vide Dr. Hodgkin's remarks on the value and respectability of this evidence, in his inquiry into the merits of the American Colonization Society, &c. p. 33.) Without multiplying extracts, which, from a variety of sources, and of similar import, might be greatly increased, I will add the

climate must be removed by adverting to the sound constitutions of the native inhabitants. They survive to an age beyond the prescribed limit of 'three score and ten,' and carry with them through life, in strength of limb and rotundity of form, abundant proof of the excellence of their native air.

The original emigrants to Liberia were not exempt from those hardships and privations to which first settlers are necessarily exposed. Unacquainted with the dispositions of the people, and ignorant of the peculiarities of the soil, their subsistence was precarious and slender. Care, privation, and disease brought some to a premature grave.* But the diffi-

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conclusion to which Dr. Hodgkin, the amiable and excellent writer just quoted, came, in the year 1833, after an attentive examination of all the documents connected with the subject. As a foreign writer, and a man of the most benevolent and praiseworthy character, his impressions, derived from a perusal of the whole testimony, are of intrinsic value. He says in his Inquiry, p. 35, "According to the official statements respecting the health of the colonists at Liberia, it does not appear that the mortality, notwithstanding the influx of new settlers—who would have a kind of seasoning to undergo, whatever might have been the situation to which they had removed—has much, if at all, exceeded the mortality in the United States." From these representations, can it be doubted, that when the colonists shall have turned their attention more to agriculture than trade—when the forests shall have been prostrated, the population increased, and its comforts augmented—we shall hear little complaint against Liberia on the score of *climate*?

* Sierra Leone, which, notwithstanding the disregard it has experienced of late years, has done so much for the surrounding tribes of barbarians, and towards the destruction of the slave-trade in that part of Africa, showed, in its early history, a mortality alarming in the extreme. If the tithe could be reasonably alleged of Liberia, which is truly related of Sierra Leone, the enterprise would long since have been abandoned. The obstacles which the English Company encountered and subdued, would have appalled and disheartened Americans. Adam Hodgson, in the appendix to his letter to M. Jean Baptiste Say, on the comparative expense of free and slave labour, published in 1823, gives the following melancholy account of the misfortunes to which the first colonists at Sierra Leone were subjected: "This colony (Sierra Leone,) may be said to owe its origin to the liberality and benevolent exertions of the celebrated *Granville Sharp*. At the time when the decision of Lord Mansfield, in the memorable case of the negro Somerset, had established the axiom, that "*as soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground, he becomes free*," there were many negroes in London who had been brought over by their masters. As a large proportion of these had no longer owners to support them, nor any parish from which they could claim relief, they fell into great distress,

culties which Liberia has encountered, are those only of all colonial settlements. Their early history presents an uniform aspect, one unvarying page; it is marked by discouragement and disaster, by disappointment and mortality. The parent and nurse of all the Spanish establishments in America, proved a certain burying-place to most of the primitive adventurers. Of the thirty-eight persons left in Hispaniola, by Columbus, as the seed of a colony, all had perished in ten months after, on his return from Spain. The armament which Ovando conducted thither in 1502, carried two thousand five hundred colonists. One thousand of these fell victims to disease. Notwithstanding these sad indications of a fatal temperature, and the mortality which, at the conclusion of the last and beginning of the present century, thinned the ranks of the French and English armies which successively invaded that island, yet all recent voyagers agree, that to the coloured inhabitants, who are now its undisputed possessors, the climate is propitious and healthful. Of the colonists conducted by Sir Walter Raleigh to the coast, now forming a

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and resorted in crowds to their patron, Granville Sharp, for support. * * He determined upon sending them to some spot in Africa, the general land of their ancestors, where, when they were once landed under a proper leader, and with proper provisions for a time, and proper implements of husbandry, they might, with but moderate industry, provide for themselves. * * * Nothing could be more discouraging than the calamities which befell the undertaking from its very outset. Of four hundred black people who left the Thames on the 22d February, 1787, under convoy of His Majesty's sloop of war Nautilus, *not more than one hundred and thirty, (who were afterwards reduced to forty,) remained alive at, and in one body, at the end of the rainy season*, into which they had been thrown by the death of Mr. Smeathman, notwithstanding Mr. Sharp's strenuous efforts to avoid it. Disaster followed disaster. Famine, disease, discontent, desertion, succeeded each other with frightful rapidity, till the year 1789, when the Colony, again in a state of improvement, was almost annihilated by a hostile attack from a neighbouring chief." These calamities have long since ceased, and no objection is now heard to the climate of Sierra Leone, in its influence upon the coloured population, and no fears entertained of the natives or of famine. The neglect which it has suffered, has prevented it from realizing all that might be expected from it. It has rendered the colonists happy, and greatly suppressed the slave-trade.

constituent part of North Carolina, and of others who subsequently followed, not one survived to tell the story of their melancholy fate. The settlement at James Town, in 1607, narrowly escaped a similar miscarriage. One half of the original emigrants were, in a few months, swept away by famine and distemper. Those who remained thrice formed the resolution of abandoning the Colony and returning to England. Of five hundred settlers whom the chivalrous and devoted Smith left in Virginia, but sixty were in being a few months after; and they, enfeebled by famine, and dejected by various misfortunes, were projecting a speedy departure from the land of their hardships and sufferings. The Colony at New Plymouth experienced like embarrassments. In six months after the landing of the pilgrims, owing to the unaccustomed rigours of an eastern winter, and the fatigues and hardships inseparable from a new settlement, nearly half of the adventurers had died. A great pestilence, they were informed by the Indian Chief, Samoset, had raged four years before, and swept the populous region of Patuxet. To their other calamities, was added the sterility of a rocky and stubborn soil, the productions of which, after untiring and laborious cultivation, were always uncertain. The distresses of famine threatened them at every step; they subsisted upon fish, with precarious supplies of corn and beans, procured from the Indians. It is not necessary to remind *Pennsylvanians* of the hardships encountered by those worthy pioneers of the wilderness, who landed on the shores of the Delaware, on this day one hundred and fifty-two years ago. It is not necessary to recount the perplexities and trials which their situation imposed—of their disappointment and consternation in finding caves for their dwelling places, and impenetrable tracts of forests in the promised land. With such examples, and other lights which history sheds, let Liberia be viewed, and it will be seen that less hardship and disaster, less mortality and discontent, cannot be found in any settlement which the long narrative of colonial annals records. The concurring testimonies of Captain Stockton and Captain Nicholson, who visited Liberia in 1828; of Captain

Sherman, in 1830; of Captain Kennedy and Captain Abel, in 1831; of Hannah Kilham, in 1832; and of Captain Voorhees, towards the close of the past year, establish, beyond the possibility of question, its striking fitness for its destined object. In confirmation of these disinterested and respectable travellers, are the reports of the agents, the letters of the colonists, and the evidence of British and French naval officers who have occasionally visited the settlement. They unite in repesenting it as the abode of peaceful content and smiling plenty. The preposterous and unfounded statements of one or two unknown or discredited witnesses, are entitled to no respect from the honest inquirer. Like the fabulous stories circulated against colonial Pennsylvania, in the life-time of the Founder, better information and more enlarged experience prove their folly and untruth.*

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*The unknown witness brought forward by James G. Birney, in his recent letter against Colonization, exceeds, in the monstrosity of its allegations, the hardihood of all his predecessors. Having never before heard of the *Rev. Samuel Jones*, thus distinguished in the letter, I know him only by the account there given, that '*he is a coloured man, and had been a slave in Kentucky*,' and by his testimony concerning Liberia. I copy the whole description, to enable the reader to see how ruthless and fierce are the attacks upon this devoted settlement. "On the fourth day, Mr. King (Agent of the Tennessee Colonization Society,) suggested that we ought now to visit the *poor*. We accordingly did so, and of all misery and poverty, and all repining that my imagination had ever conceived, it had never reached what my eyes now saw, and my ears heard. Hundreds of poor creatures, squalid, ragged, hungry, without employment—some actually starving to death, and all praying most fervently that they might get home to America once more. Even the emancipated slave craved the boon of returning again to bondage, that he might once more have the pains of hunger satisfied. There are hundreds there who say they would rather come back and be slaves than stay in Liberia. They would sit down and tell us their tale of suffering and of sorrow, with such a dejected and wo-begone aspect, that it would almost break our hearts. They would weep as they would talk of their sorrows here, and their joys in America—and we mingled our tears freely with theirs. This part of the population included, as near as we could judge, *two-thirds* of the inhabitants of Monrovia." Two-thirds of the inhabitants discontented, and hundreds rather be slaves than remain in Liberia! Hundreds hungry, *and some actually starving to death!* Misery beyond what the imagination can conceive, the eyes ever saw, or the ears heard! The surprise is not that a spurious bill may get into circulation, but that it should find such an indorser as James G. Bir-

Such is the country in which the Colonization Society has invited the black man of America to fix his permanent habitation. It offers him, 'without money and without price,' a

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ney. This account is opposed by the letter of the colonists themselves, and the concurring testimonies of the most respectable travellers, from the year 1828 to the present time. The letter from the colonists represents the face of the country as covered with perpetnal verdure, and that the soil in fertility is not surpassed on the face of the earth—that the colonists are blessed with plenty, and enjoy content—that wages are high, and mechanics of nearly every trade are sure of constant and profitable employment. They say, "Truly we have a goodly heritage; and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this Colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country: it must be the fruit of onr own mismanagement, or slothfulness or vices." (See the Circnlar of the Colonists, *in extenso*, in Thirteenth Annual Report of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, p. 30, *et seq.*) Capt. Nicholson thns writes in 1828: "I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the Colony, than hy mentioning that eight of my crew (coloured mechanics,) after going on shore two several days, applied for, and received their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers. These men had been absent from their country upwards of three years, and had, among them, nearly two thousand dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced that their happiness and prosperity wonld be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren In Liberia, they wonld not have determined on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps forever, where they all had left friends and relatives.

"Tho appearance of all the colonists, those of Monrovia, as well as those of Caldwell, *indicated more than contentment.* Their manners were those of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had, by trade, accumulated a competency, if the possession of from three to five thousand dollars may be called so."

Capt. Sherman, whose visit was in the year 1830, thus writes of the comfort and contentment of the settlers:

"Monrovia, at present, consists of about *ninety dwelling houses and stores, two houses for public worship, and a court house.* Many of the dwellings are handsome and convenient, *and all of them comfortable.* Tho plot of the town is cleared more than a mile square, elevated abont seventy feet above the level of the sea, and contains *seven hundred* inhabitants.

"The township of Caldwell is about seven miles from Monrovia, on St. Panl's river, and contains a popnlation of fivo hundred and sixty agriculturalists. *The soil is exceedingly fertile, the situation pleasant, and the people satisfied and happy.* The emigrants carried out hy me, and from whom I received a pleasing and satisfactory acconnt of that part of the country, are located here."

Capt. Kennedy's visit was in 1831. He thus states the result of his inquiries and observations: "I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of ths colo-

home of freedom and plenty in the land of his fathers. It offers him a sanctuary from wrong and persecution. It offers him the unwonted prospect of an unclouded and bril-

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nists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and many conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them *any dissatisfaction with their condition, (if such existed,) or any latent design to return to their native country.* Neither of these did I observe. On the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that, disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society, they felt themselves prond in their attitnde," &c. &c. *Fifteenth Report*, 1832.

Capt. Abel gives this emphatic testimony. He was in the Colony in the latter part of December, 1831. "*All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, was more than realized.* There are about two hnndred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a qnarter. Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, the first story of many of them being of stone; and some of them handsome, spacious, and with Venitian blinds. Nothing strnck me as more remarkable than the great superiority in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect over their coloured brethren in America. *So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, 'Should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States.'* Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America.* I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered hy any one. Being a minister of the Gospel, on Christmas day I preached," &c. The pious Hannah Kilham, who visited Liberia in 1832, said nothing of tho want, misery, and discontent described by Jones. Can there be a doubt, that if either existed, she would not have seen and mentioned it? Dr. Hodgkin states, that she left England by no means prepossessed in favour of Liberia. She speaks of tho moral condition and comforts enjoyed by many of the colonists, and of the respectful and cheerful attention paid by the pupils in the girls' school at Caldwell, to the teacher, whose nnion of gentleness and firmness, she extols. Not a word in confirmation of Jones.

Simpson and Moore, two respectable coloured men, one of whom is a clergyman, visited the Colony, at the reqnest of their free colonred brethren of Natches, likewise in the year 1832. The following is tho ovidence they furnished: "As a body, the people of Liberia, we think, owing to their circnmstances, have risen in their style of living, and *their happiness, as a community, is far above those of their coloured brethren, even the most prosperous of them, that we have seen in the United States.* They feel that they have a home. They have no fear of the white or the coloured man. They havo no snperiors. They do not look up to others, but they are looked up to by them. Their laws grow out of themselves, and are their own. They truly sit under their own

liant future. But in presenting the invitation, its duty is performed, and it goes no further. It disavows all constraint or compulsion, for these would imply an authority which no where exists, and is no where pretended. It professes itself the friend of the coloured man, because he is degraded by our laws, and sometimes, as in Pennsylvania, in despite of legal regulations. It desires to take him from a country where he must languish in inferiority, and where he never

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vine and fig-tree, having none to molest and make them afraid. Since our return, we have been in the houses of some of the most respectable men of colour in New York and Philadelphia, but have seen none, on the whole, so well furnished as many of the houses of Monrovia. The floors are, in many cases, well carpeted, and *all things about these dwellings appear neat, convenient, and comfortable.* There are five schools, two of which we visited, and were much pleased with the teachers and the improvement of the children. * * * *We found only two persons who expressed any dissatisfaction;* and we have had much reason to doubt whether they had any good cause for it."

Capt. Voorhees, of the United States Navy, arrived at anchorage in the bay of Montserado on the 9th of December, 1833. He dates his report to the Secretary of the Navy at that Cape, on the 14th. He says, "Piracy has not afflicted this quarter for some time; and the inhabitants at the settlements *living in undisturbed peace and tranquillity*, seem to entertain very encouraging confidence in their future security." After speaking of the kind of people who should be sent to Liberia, he says, "Such persons of colour here, in the land of their ancestors, find a home and a country, and *here* only, do they find themselves redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled." An intelligent old man, about sixty years of age, with whom I conversed, stated that he had been here about eighteen months, and was getting on cleverly for himself and his family, "but that on no account would he return to the United States." The last witness to whom it is necessary to refer, in contradiction of the *Rev. Samuel Jones*, is a coloured man, who bears the name simply of Joseph Jones. He was sent out by the Kentucky Colonization Society, for the purpose of examining "fully the situation of the Colony of Liberia." The Board of Managers of the Kentucky Society speak of him "as a man of excellent character, of a clear and vigorous understanding, and possessed of those qualities which make a man useful to society." He reached Liberia on the 11th of July, 1833, and remained in the Colony nine months and twenty-nine days. His testimony, therefore, relates to Liberia, as it was about the middle of the year 1834. To the question put to him during his examination, "Do the colonists appear satisfied?" his reply is, "I was particular in my inquiries, and I found the large majority well satisfied, and would not return to this country if they could." The Editor of the Western Luminary, who had a conversation with Jones, says, under date of 30th July, 1834. "He represented the people as being generally contented, and apparently happy."

can be happy, to a land capable of bestowing upon himself and his posterity the blessings of happiness and liberty forever.

One of the inseparable incidents, and unavoidable effects of Colonization, *is to induce the emancipation of slaves.* It has already given freedom to above one thousand human beings. The number is small, only because the ability of the institution has been restricted. In 1830, the owners of upwards of six hundred slaves offered them for manumission, for the purpose of being conveyed to Liberia. The Society of Friends of North Carolina manumitted several hundred slaves, whose liberation had been denied by the legislature for a period of fifty years, to enable them to enjoy freedom in the African Colony. Benevolent individuals, who feel a kind of paternal solicitude for the future welfare of those servile dependents, entreat the Society to take them for the same munificent purpose. The noble-minded liberality of M'Donough, of Louisiana, who asked for legislative permission to educate his servants, with a view to ultimate enfranchisement in the land of their ancestors, must be vivid in the public recollection. But the evidences of a desire on the part of Southern masters to manumit their slaves, if a proper asylum can be procured for their reception, are too numerous and public to require elucidation. Suffice it, that if the funds of the institution were augmented a hundred fold, and the capabilities of the Colony were commensurately increased, they would all be put in requisition by the extended and increasing eagerness manifested at the South for voluntary emancipations. *Ten thousand slaves would at this moment be released from thraldom, if they could be transported from the country.* It is upon these grounds that colonization addresses itself to the benevolent wishes and active support of the friends of abolition. Here is a mode in which experience has taught us that abolition can be effected. But it is objected that the process is slow; that the condition of *expatriation* is hard and cruel; that liberations by private individuals may have the effect of retarding legislative action; and that, as it may prove but a temporary assuasive, it will allure the attention of the South from the *efficient* remedy.

Must it then become a question upon which benevolence can hesitate, whether slavery in America is preferable to freedom in Africa? But a slight consideration of the objections shows, that they are captious, untenable, and erroneous. If Colonization decoy the inflamed South from the contemplation of measures pursued by the ill-judging North, its results must be permanently salutary. It restores that mental equilibrium which, on a question affecting private property, is essential to the exercise of a just and enlightened discretion. Whatever may be the plea for interfering with pecuniary interest, and however upright and disiuterested the motive, any attempt to impair it, must unavoidably awaken feeling and bring about resistance. Allay this hostility by abstaining from harsh imputations and unkindly acts, and half the obstructions to abolition are removed. But why will voluntary emancipations, or the removal of free blacks and manumitted slaves, delay the period of legislative action? By what means, and through what agency, is legislative action effected? Is it not by that silent process by which private sentiment is influenced? The slave-holder who nobly resigns that property which was legally his own, has new feelings and sensibilities. He no longer retains an interest in the continuance of slavery as a system. His sentiments are opposed to it. They become as expansive as is the extent of his influence. Some adopt his reasoning, and imitate his example. These become the centre of other circles, which grow wider and more numerous, till at length they diffuse themselves into a dense and undistinguished mass. In proportion as the work of *private* emancipation advances, the cause of *public* abolition is hastened. With each case of voluntary liberation secured, the seed is sown for a future and larger harvest of freemen. When, by these means, private sentiment shall have been roused to the natural injustice, the republican inconsistency, and political evils of servitude, we may indulge a well-grounded hope, that its legal extinction is at hand. Is it not then a work to which benevolent men and benevolent legislatures ought to contribute? If the South agree to part with their slaves, can the North do less

than incur the expense of providing them with a suitable abode? Is it a proof of philanthropy and patriotism which our Southern brethren can admit as conclusive, that the North should inveigh against servitude without assisting to effect its abolition? If slavery be a national evil, as *citizens* they should participate in the pecuniary burdens which its destruction imposes. With the adoption of such sentiments and corresponding generosity in contribution, the whole South might be drained of its slaves before the actual cessation of servitude in those Northern States, which vaunt so loudly of 'equal liberty and equal rights.'

But the aims of Colonization are not limited to the extinction of bondage in America, but it pursues to Africa with vigilant solicitude the objects of its sympathies and care. It proposes to render them not only free, but intelligent and happy. It offers for their acceptance a fertile and luxuriant country, requiring only the hand of industry and labour to render it the garden spot of the tropics. It offers to the uninformed emigrant the prospect of education by means of schools and libraries, and to the man of serious and higher contemplations, the advantages of congregational devotion. It may safely be asserted, that history presents no example of a Colony under better auspices—none with so many solid reasons for the anticipation of success, and so few to justify the apprehension of failure or miscarriage.

Colonization, in the wide circle of its benefits, has been but partially displayed. It includes not merely abolition, and the restoration of the African to that liberty of which he and his progenitors have been deprived for ages; but taking a survey of consequential advantages, *it seeks the annihilation of the slave-trade, and the civilization of Africa.* Without yielding to that ardour of enthusiasm which a scheme so grand and comprehensive is calculated to inspire, let us, in the sober spirit of philosophical inquiry, calmly look at the probabilities of its promised achievements.

The detestable traffic, called the slave-trade, extensively prevails in defiance of the laws and treaties made for its suppression. From the acts passed by the Colonial Assembly

of Virginia, commencing in 1699, down to the period when the Congress at Vienna, solemnly engaged for its cessation in Europe, a series of prohibitory laws were enacted, and many strenuous exertions made, to bring it to a practical termination. All signally failed. Laws and treaties, and navies to compel their execution, were alike ineffectual. In 1816, a period subsequent to the abolition of the traffic in Great Britain and the United States; subsequent to the meeting at Vienna, and the interdict of Napoleon; the slaves annually taken from the coast of Africa, were computed at 60,000. In 1817 the coast was crowded with slave-ships, and the trade prevailed to such an extent, as to supersede and render abortive all attempts at ordinary commerce. According to the report of a Committee of Congress, made in the year 1821, the annual average number of slaves withdrawn from Western Africa should be estimated from 50,000 to 80,000. The importations into Rio de Janeiro, between the years 1820 and 1829, continued annually to increase from 15,000, to upwards of 43,000. This sickening picture might be heightened by the most revolting details, and presented with those additional horrors, which a description of the *Middle Passage* would bestow. But it is enough. It shows that the attempts to terminate the most diabolical traffic which ever afflicted and disgraced humanity—the edicts of states, the treaties of confederate powers—each uniting in the denunciation of it as *piracy*, and the punishment of it by *death*—have all been inoperative and powerless. If these be inadequate, it may be deridingly asked, can the plan of Colonization succeed? Does *it* exhibit claims to attention, of which such imposing endeavours are deprived? Let us from naked facts coolly consider the present results, and deduce the certain tendencies of the scheme, and we shall at least comprehend the mode by which it is proposed to accomplish a purpose so good and stupendous.

Cape Messurado, the very spot selected for the residence of the first colonists, and the site of the flourishing town of Monrovia, was a place for the purchase and embarkation of slaves. Before the commencement of the colony, from 4000

to 5000 wretched victims of foreign cupidity, were annually exported from the harbour. According to Ashmun, in the year 1823, between this place and Cape Mount, a distance of fifty miles, now constituting perhaps the most thickly inhabited portion of the settlement, at least 2000 persons were shipped for the hopelessness of exile and slavery in a foreign land. In 1825, the same lamented writer declares that from Cape Mount to Trade Town, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, and embracing the whole region formerly infested, no *slaver* dared attempt the guilty traffic. The slave *factories* are now entirely broken up. The Chiefs of the country adjacent to Grand Bassa, which is within the line of coast between Cape Mount and Trade Town, stipulated in the year 1829, to cease from the slave trade, and to suppress it within their territorial limits. The recaptured Africans who belong to the colony, are among the living trophies of its victories. The great numbers which have been recaptured at Sierra Leone, and the advantage of these convenient stations on the coast, form powerful incitements to further activity and bravery, on the part of naval commanders. In addition to these evidences of an influence exerted by the colony upon the African slave-trade, might be adduced the increasing commerce of the colonists with the interior tribes; the progressive improvement of these by means of their intercourse with the settlers; and the growing sentiment of aversion towards the traffic among those tribes, which were formerly distinguished for ferocity and barbarism. The concurring opinions of respectable visitors, and the agents of the Parent Society, represent facts, of this nature, too strongly and cogently, even to be resisted or seriously impunged. Such are the prospects, and such have been the effects of this simple enterprise, in the destruction of a trade upon which statesmen and philanthropists, from a remote period in the annals of Christian Europe, have expended their united energies with so little success.

Inseparably connected with the destruction of the slave-trade, or greatly dependant upon it, is the impression to be made upon the *mind* of Africa. Oppressed with the unbro-

ken sleep of ages, she may not be at once awakened from her stupor—amused with her dreams of ignorance and superstition, she may reluctantly exchange her delusion, for the broad effulgence of life, the great purposes, the unimagined realities of being. The reign of darkness and night may for a time be permitted in the vicinity of light and day.

> "Is't night's predominance, or the day's shame,
> That darkness does the face of earth entomb,
> When living light should kiss it?"

But the genius which has given immortality to ancient Egypt —which nurtured young science in her cradle—which sent her forth to Greece, and finally to Europe—may break through the clouds and dissipate the mists which have so long overshadowed and obscured it. With the return of her sons from exile, blest with the glimmering rays of that light which first broke forth and dawned in their own land, she will pursue those steps which led to former ascendency, she will reassert her former dominion, crowned with new conquests, and more dazzling glory.

> "States fall, arts fade, but *Nature* doth not die."

We may look forward to a period when the hand of labour will lessen the vast ocean of her forests; when extended commerce in procuring wealth, will bring its concomitant conveniences; and when a luxurious taste will spread about and around her the refinements of elegance. We may expect a time when the obelisk will mark the spot which has been known for centuries as the residence of fierce and untamed barbarity; and when the institutions of liberty and happiness which we now enjoy, the greatest and the purest which mankind ever saw, shall be those of a country, the clanking of whose chains, and the loudness of whose laments have penetrated to the remotest corners of the earth. We may anticipate the coming of that glorious day, when the objectless idolatry and blind superstitions of paganism shall

be supplanted over the land by the sublime spirit, and pure precepts of Christianity. It is in these connexions, that the colonization of Africa presents to the mind the most cheering and ennobling contemplations. It proposes not only to elevate humanity in the scale of freedom, happiness, and virtue, but it promises to enlarge the limits of the scientific world, and to extend the wide boundaries of Christendom.

Humble as is the present condition of the Colony of Liberia, it is big with its ultimate destination. Its effects are not seen alone in the quickened impulses and more generous aspirations of its inhabitants. The chiefs and kings of the neighbouring country seek the protection and friendship of an ally whose motives they cannot distrust, and whose ability they cannot question. They see the fruits of superior intelligence and a better religion, in the plenty, comfort and peace of the settlers. Constant intercourse must beget an improved taste, and the sense of inferiority must transfuse an ambition to remove the cause. That impulsion which Europe received in the middle ages, and which led to the melioration of her own savage manners, arose from her relations with Asia, by means of her pilgrims to the Holy Land. The contemplation of a superior society, and of those refinements engendered by the arts, introduced new ideas of order—comparisons were instituted—emulation was excited—manners grew less fierce and unrestrained. The proximity of higher cultivation, must, by inevitable transmission, produce the most favourable effects. Look at the present condition of our western country. Originally settled by a race of men, but one remove from the native savage, it presented the desolation of a moral and mental waste. As the rolling tide of emigration approached, carrying with it elements of a superior order, the waste was nourished as if by the neighbouring breeze; it was cultivated, and became a garden. Look through the history of man from the earliest age of which tradition speaks—trace the causes of his advance from wildness to refinement—and they will be found to be the collisions of commerce, or the influences of colonial settlement. History, however, has taught us the lesson, that when

colonies are prompted by the love of conquest or plunder, or when nature has interposed impassible barriers to a free communion, that perpetual war, or servitude, or massacre, is the dire conclusion. Memorable instances of each occur; but it may suffice to refer to that single case which presents a striking illustration. The colonization of America has been the means of destroying, not civilizing the ancient inhabitants. The thirst of wealth, of which the presence of these unfortunate beings retarded the gratification, or those physical differences which nature herself had implanted, as if forever to distinguish between the invaders and the invaded, formed sufficient impediments to social union. Who can doubt that such would be the consequence to Africa of permanent communities, formed within her borders by the inhabitants of Europe? Who can doubt that a mere *inversion* of the existing relation between Africa and America, would be thence produced? Who can doubt that remaining perpetually distinct, except in anomalous cases, supremacy on the one side, and subserviency on the other, or constant and bloody conflict, would be the hapless result? But experience has shown that the union of the American negro with the native African, is harmonious and productive of mutual advantage. So far has this union advanced, that intermarriages have already occurred between the female emigrants and the re-captured natives. This must introduce greater alacrity, on the part of the natives, to adopt the customs and habits of the emigrants;—a closer reciprocity of interest, a constant interchange of kindly offices. It is by leagues of alliance, both political and domestic, that there must spring up a kindred sympathy, an identity of feeling, which will unite the two people and render them inseparable. Each emigrant, therefore, may be more than a missionary. He may be as a fertilizing stream in an arid country, dispensing greenness and beauty along its sterile banks. Let these streams multiply from ten thousand sources; let them be fed by generous tributaries from America and Europe; and like another, but greater and richer Nile, in their concentrated mass, the vast and mighty sheet overflowing the

continent, will convert its hideous and lifeless deserts into a smiling scene of animation and verdure. A great moral oasis will take the place of diffusive barrenness, in tracts known only as the haunts of prowling animals, and

"Of savage men more murd'rous still than they."

It is such aims and purposes which animate the friends of Colonization to press forward, in despite of the accumulated impediments which oppose their advance. Unfounded prejudices are raised, which must, by generating a spirit adverse to the coloured man on the one hand, and arraying the North against the South on the other, bring about incalculable evils.* As the country should be guarded from the approach of an inimical army, so it should be warned against the insidious attempts of foreign stratagem to undermine its allegiance. What so plausible and insinuating as the deceitful guise of Christian benevolence? What so likely to summon to its aid the religious sensibilities of a foreign country, and the conscientious and unsuspecting of ours? When we find an official functionary of Sierra Leone publishing a report intended to affect the American Colony at Liberia; when we find Englishmen denouncing as absurd a project

* Mrs. Childs cautions us against the adoption of Colonization principles on the score of their *unpopularity*. The unfounded reports industriously circulated against the scheme, have excited much prejudice against it in the minds of many worthy persons belonging to our free black population. This, too, may be said, that preaching at the North against Southern slavery can be easily done, as it costs nothing but the writing and publication of the sermons. Colonization, on the other hand, requires constant *pecuniary sacrifices* to convey to, and maintain the objects of its care in Liberia. It is for this reason not so *cheap* a philanthropy as some others. As it requires money in its support, the Southern states may naturally believe, that Northern people would not engage in it without pure and disinterested motives, either of patriotism or benevolence. Touching the argument of James G. Birney, derived from the successive dissolution of several Colonization Societies in the South west, that the plan contains no permanent animating principle, I may refer to the Abolition Society of Maryland, which was dissolved in the year 1798, having existed only seven years. The *Protection Society* of that state, formed for similar purposes, by Elisha Tyson, some years after, met with a similar fate. The same may be said of most of the benevolent projects of the age.

which they themselves originated and still continue to patronise; when we find our glorious Constitution the object of absurd, but censorious and ruthless attack; when we find two British agents in the Eastern and Northern country railing at institutions over which their auditors have neither jurisdiction nor control; can we doubt of the existence of a well defined object, a settled and systematic design? It seems manifest, that the Anti-slavery Societies, from their principles, connexions and acts, are of foreign parentage—that their formation was *dictated* by English party politicians, with the view, by making a direct assault upon the constitutional union of the United States, to compass their objects at home.

It is not necessary to deduce the history of our intercourse from the earliest times, with the great people from whom we are descended, to perceive in the movements of one of her political parties, a constant distrust, an unvarying watchfulness of her offspring. But all nations now attest the rapid approximation of what has long been foreseen and anticipated, that this republic united, would rival and at length supplant England, in her maritime and manufacturing ascendency. No panting after superior greatness could outrun the certain but quick advances of her youthful and more vigorous competitor. That which she could not obtain by the direct agency of energetic exertion, she might realize by the indirection of diplomatic subtlety. If the glory of that rising country could be prevented by distraction of councils—division among its members—separation of its union,—all the bright hopes of its youthful promise, all the dread fears of its opening career, would, in a moment, be dissipated and dispelled. The cloven foot of this policy was discovered soon after the commencement of our government. It has been equally perceptible in the controversies growing out of the tariff.*

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* The English apprehended much detriment to their manufacturing interests from the passage of our tariff acts. We all remember the clamour of a party in England against them. One or two Englishman greatly contributed by their writings, to inflame the people of South Carolina against these laws, and thus prepared them for the admission of the famous *nullification* doctrines. It was one

But patriotic ardour has defeated it all. The delicate question of *negro emancipation*, not springing from temporary causes, nor likely to subside with temporary interests, held out its alluring but deceptive promises.

It would be well for reflecting Americans to examine the causes of that popular tumultuary eruption which led to the sudden formation of societies in dereliction of the ancient and recognised principles of *gradual* emancipation—principles announced in the charters of our Abolition Societies, and in accordance with the uniform tenor of our abolition acts.*

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of these writers who dared to calculate *the value of the union* to South Carolina. —It should not be omitted, however, that other manufacturing nations abroad are not less jealous of the progress of American industry. It is said, and there is sufficient reason to believe, that in the year 1832, when a Bill was before Congress "for promoting the growth and manufacture of Silk," which had been reported and strongly recommended by the Committee on Agriculture, and which appeared to have the assent of a majority of the House of Representatives, the minister of France openly declared himself opposed to the bill, and it is probable, considering the great interests *then and now* in suspense between the two nations, that his opposition did not a little contribute to its rejection, after it had passed in committee of the whole.

* The charter of "The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery," &c. enacted into a law on the 8th of December, 1789, has these words for its first section: "Whereas a voluntary Society has for some time subsisted in this State, by the name and title of 'The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage,' *which has evidently co-operated with the views of the legislature, expressed in the act of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, passed the first day of March, in the year of our Lord* 1780, *entitled* '*An act for the GRADUAL abolition of slavery*,' and a supplement thereto, passed the 29th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1788." It thus appears by the *Charter* of this Society—the *fundamental law* of the body corporate, without which it could not have a legal existence—that its views were confined to *gradual* abolition.—The Biennial Conventions of the various Abolition Societies in the Union have repeatedly sanctioned the principle of *gradual* emancipation. The Convention which met at Washington, Dec. 8, 1829, express their belief that abolition "can only be obtained by *very gradual means*," that laws fixing a future period for the freedom of slaves had met the approbation of former Conventions; that the idea of *immediate freedom* had encountered universal reprobation; and that "*grudual abolition is the only mode* which at present appears likely to receive the public sanction." See minutes of the 21st Biennial American Convention, pp. 27, 8, 9.—*All of our abolition acts* proceed upon the principle of *gradual* emancipation. Pennsylvania set the example in 1780. Connecticut followed in 1784. Rhode Island a little later the same year. New

It would be well for Americans to pause before they adopt, at the suggestion of foreigners, a philanthropy which incites to turbulent invective and acrimonious clamour, against an honest and well intended benevolence. They should examine

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York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804. These acts all adopt the principle of *gradual* and *prospective* abolition.—The other non-slave-holding states in which legal slavery has been adjudged to be incompatible with their Constitutions, have always had very few or no slaves. I allude to Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont, in the latter of which states only, in the year 1790, there were slaves. In that year, Vermont had seventeen slaves. Slavery was prohibited in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, before these communities were admitted to the rank of states, by the celebrated compact of 1787, for the cession of the North Western Territory to the Federal Government. Whether the prohibition, which, in accordance with the Compact and Ordinance of Congress, was afterwards introduced into the Constitutions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, has been expunged in either, I have not been able to ascertain; but certain it is, in Illinois, slaves are returned in 1810 and 1820, and according to the census of 1830, there exist 746 slaves in the state. Sufficient, however, has been said, to show that *gradual* emancipation has been the characteristic feature of all the legislation in this country. This sentiment is not affected by the judicial construction which has been put upon the Constitutions of several of the states in which there were few or no slaves whatever, especially as judges are governed by their own abstract notions of what the law is. In Pennsylvania, the Constitution contains a similar article to that which, in Massachusetts, had been judicially pronounced inconsistent with slavery, and yet the seven judges composing the then High Court of Errors and Appeals, solemnly determined, "that it was their *unanimous opinion* slavery was not inconsistent with any clause of the Constitution of Pennsylvania." With regard to the *policy* of the *immediate* or *gradual* abolition of slavery at the South, that is not the question in this place; but I may be pardoned for quoting the concurring sentiment of Anthony Benezet and Dr. Fothergill, upon this subject, as the latter contributed so largely to the passage of our abolition act. In a letter to Dr. Fothergill, under date of 4th month 28th, 1773, Benezet writes: "*I am like-minded with thee*, with respect to the *danger and difficulty which would attend a sudden manumission of those negroes now in the Southern colonies*, as well to themselves as to the whites." Again:—The danger of immediate abolition in places where slaves constitute a large part of the population, as in the Southern country, is distinctly admitted by Jonathan Edwards, (an unwilling witness,) in an appendix to a sermon which he pronounced at New Haven, in 1791. He had contended in his sermon, upon general principles, for the necessity of immediate abolition; upon the doctrine being impugned as dangerous, he thus distinguishes between the Northern and Southern states. "As it respects the Northern, in which slaves are so few, there is not the least foundation to imagine, that they would combine or make insurrection against the government; or that they would attempt to murder their masters." * * * "With regard to the Southern states, the case is different. The negroes in some parts of those

the long list of Colonization advocates, and see whether the first statesmen, jurists, and citizens of this country, are capable of the detestable hypocrisy of aiming, through its means, at the perpetuation of servitude. They should coolly investigate the immediate bearings and remote results of Colonization. They should dispassionately compare the declarations of its enemies with the certainty of its present performances, and the probabilities of its future influence.*

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states *are a great majority of the whole*, and therefore *the evils objected* would, in case of a *general manumission at once*, be more likely to take place." Since 1773 and 1791, when Benezet and Edwards respectively wrote, the slaves at the south have greatly increased in number; and as a consequence, the "*danger and difficulty*," as expressed by one, and the "*evils of throat-cutting, thieving, and plundering*," as apprehended by the other, from a *sudden or general manumission at once*, are by no means diminished at the present day.

* The best reply that can be made to attacks upon the *motives* of colonizationists, is to display the names of the officers and friends of the Colonization Societies—men of the first virtue and talents in the country—whom the country delights to honour, and whom nearly every party holds in a respect approaching to veneration. I may name the venerable Bishop White, John Marshall, and James Madison, who is President, of the parent Society. No one will suspect these men of favouring a scheme, which has for its object, or can have for its effect, the perpetuation of negro bondage! If any one is too idle to investigate for himself what *the inevitable fruits* of Colonization principles, judiciously administered, are, let him consult the pages of bright names which the annual reports furnish, as officers of the parent and state societies, and make himself acquainted with the many benevolent private individuals, who are silent, but devoted friends of the cause. Let him read the former testimonies of the Abolition Societies themselves to the *principles* and *effects* of Colonization. The Convention of these Societies which met at Washington, in 1829, uses this language; "A great recommendation of the measure (Colonization) arises from the fact, that *it is the only efficient one* which is likely to be speedily sanctioned by the people; and is the only one by which voluntary emancipation, in most of the slave-holding States, can be effected." See Minutes, &c. p. 34.—Among the departed worthies, natives and foreigners, who gave to the *principles* upon which the Society proceed, their concurrence, I may record the late Thomas Jefferson, the celebrated Granville Sharp, the amiable Anthony Benezet, the truly philanthropic Elisha Tyson, the immortal William Wilberforce, and the lamented Hannah Kilham.

It is well known that Thomas Jefferson formed a plan in 1777, to colonize the free blacks, but the circumstances of the country prevented the execution of the project.

Granville Sharp, in 1787, colonized at Sierra Leone, 400 blacks, who were thrown upon their resources in the streets of London, in consequence of the decision of the English judiciary, in the case of the negro Somerset.

Anthony Benezet proposes, in a letter addressed to Dr. Fothergill, in 1773, to

If we scan with a philosophic eye the great subject of effacing the national stain of servitude, and of aiding the moral and social well being of the coloured man, we discern at once that the mists of passion and the prejudices of party,

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colonize the negroes of the United States, in "that large extent of country, from the west side of the Alleghany mountains to the Mississippi, on a breadth of four or five hundred miles."

Elisha Tyson was for many years opposed to the scheme of colonizing the free blacks in Africa. Towards the latter part of his life, his views entirely changed upon the subject. His biographer observes, "It was not until the closing period of Mr. Tyson's life, that this (the Colonization) Society enjoyed his confidence." * * * "Universal emancipation, connected with colonization, was the favourite theme of his declining age, and the last days of his existence were cheered by the hopes which seemed to beam on him through the dark vista of futurity, of the glorious realization of his wishes." *Life of E. Tyson*, p. 111 and 120.

William Wilberforce, it has been asserted, renounced Colonization just before he died. I can hardly think *that* recantation an act of free volition, which was made under circumstances, and at a time, when the energies of nature, it is said, were nearly extinct, and when a testamentary disposition could hardly have been binding. I prefer the conclusions of the mind, in a better condition of the body—we look for the *mens sana in corpore sano*. A letter of which the following is an extract, was written by William Wilberforce to Elliott Cresson, when his faculties, mental and physical, were sound. He refers to the American Colonization Society—"You have gladdened my heart by convincing me, that sanguine *as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your Institution*, all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality. This may truly be deemed a pledge of the Divine favour, and believe me, no Briton, I had almost said no American, can take a livelier interest than myself, in your true greatness and glory." &c. &c. *Vide, Fifteenth Annual Report Am. Col. Soc. p.* 15.

Hannah Kilham, who was a member of the Society of Friends in England, and well known for her great benevolence and ardent piety, visited Liberia in 1832. She thus expresses herself in a letter written while in the colony. "This colony altogether presents quite a new scene of combined African and American interest. I cannot but hope and trust, that it is the design of Infinite Goodness to prepare a home in this land for many who have been denied the full extent of privilege in the land of their birth; and that some, who are brought here but as a shelter and resource for themselves, may, through the visitation of Heavenly Goodness in their own minds, and the further leadings of Divine Love, become ministers of the glad tidings of the Gospel, to many who are now living in darkness, and the shadow of death."

Elliott Cresson whose zeal in the cause led him, as agent, to make a protracted visit to England, without compensation, found many benevolent spirits, and warm advocates of Colonization in that land. [See statement of the names of

are all that obstruct its happy termination. If the Abolition Societies, as they were constituted before the announcement of anti-slavery principles, would unostentatiously prosecute their benevolent labours of educating the free negroes, and

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contributors and the amount of his collections, in England, as published in the African Repository for April, 1834.] He was the means of forming there a society in aid of the enterprise, composed of men of the highest rank, of distingnished talents, and reputed piety. They consider the plan as admirably calculated to introduce Christianity and civilization among the natives of Africa, and to extirpate the slave-trade, "which," say they, "the naval efforts of Great Britain and other powers, have been unable to suppress." The following are the officers of THE BRITISH AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. They will be recognised as among the most illustrious characters in the Kingdom.

Patron.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. *President.*—The Right Honourable Lord Bexley. *Vice Presidents.*—His Grace the Duke of Bedford, His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, the most Noble the Marquis of Westminster, the Rt. Hon. Sir George Murray, Bart. K. C. B., T. Richardson, Esq. (of Stamford Hill), Lord Advocate Jeffrey, H. Wilson Esq., Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey, John Ivatt Briscoe, Esq. M. P., James Douglas, Esq. (of Cavers), B. Hawes, Esq. M. P., Sir George Ouseley. *Treasurer.*—J. Biddulph, Esq. *Hon. Secretary.*—Captain J.J. Chapman.

In addition to these there are many private individuals in Great Britain and Ireland who have generously contributed considerable sums of money to this noble charity, and whose pens have been enlisted in the cause. Among these I give the following:

Dr. Hodgkin, a distinguished and benevolent physician of London. He has published at his own expense three valuable pamphlets in defence of the Society and its colony.

John Bevans, the Editor of the Herald of Peace—the author of the Vindication of Liberia and other able articles.

Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D. Dumfries, the founder of the first Savings Bank—a warm and zealous advocate of African Colonization.

James Simpson, Esq. of Edinburg, has vindicated the cause in the Phrenological Journal with great ability.

Rev. Edward Higginson, of Hull, the author of "Liberia philanthropically and economically considered."

Thomas Greer Jacob, a Friend, of Belfast, in a series of letters exposed the sophistry and disingenuousness of the anti-colonizationists, and the duty of supporting the Society in its benevolent labours. Several distinguished Friends contributed largely to its funds; among them, R. D. Alexander, of Ipswich, raised for the Society £600 sterling. His friend, the immortal Thomas Clarkson, whose labours in the cause of African freedom have been greater than those of any man living, is strongly attached to the Society, and duly appreciates its important results. "This venerable man," says the 15th Report of the American Colonization Society, "now sinking under a weight of years, and almost blind, listened to the details of the Society's operations with an enthusiastic delight, such, as a

assisting those who are illegally retained in bondage, the work of Colonization would go prosperously onward and the fabric of slavery would crumble into ruins. Having renounced their partial alliance with treasonable doctrines and transatlantic emissaries; having sacrificed upon the altar of patriotism and union the new fangled notion of *immediate and total abolition*;* and pursuing those legitimate and

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friend remarked, he had not manifested for twenty years; and in a letter to Mr. Cresson observes, 'for myself, I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favour since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was seriously proposed, that which is going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses every thing that has yet occurred. No sooner had your colony been established on Cape Montserado, than there appeared a disposition among the owners of slaves to give them freedom voluntarily and without compensation, and to allow them to be sent to the land of their fathers, so that you have many thousands redeemed, without any cost for their redemption. To me this is truly astonishing. Can this have taken place without the intervention of the spirit of God?' *Report*, pages 14, *et seq.*

Douglas, of Cavers, contributed £200 to its funds, and the eloquent appeals of Jeffrey, Murray, Solicitor General Cockburn and Lord Menerieff will long be remembered by the brilliant assemblages drawn around them at Edinburg. Mrs. Miles Fletcher, so justly beloved by our countrymen who have visited the northern Athens, has given to the cause the aid of her powerful influence.

Rev. Josiah Pratt has furnished valuable articles in the Missionary Herald throughout the whole period of the colonial history of Liberia.

* The example of the effects produced in England by the denunciations of the press, and the exhibitions of popular feeling, against slavery, by leading to an act of Parliament, abolishing slavery in Jamaica, has been thought to justify similar attempts at *agitation* in the Northern sections of the United States. In England, this clamour was raised among a people that had control over Slavery in Jamaica. The English Parliament had a right to legislate upon the subject. But it does not seem to be known or understood, that the legislatures of the non-slave-holding states, and the Congress of the United States have nothing to do with the existence of slavery at the South. They have no jurisdiction over the territory. Each state, with regard to its own internal concerns, is an independent sovereignty, and in relation to these concerns, it can no more be governed by the legislation of the others or Congress, than by an act of the British Parliament or a bull of the Pope of Rome. If Englishmen, who declaim at the North against Southern slavery, could be taught that they are preaching to impotent hearers, they might save themselves much unnecessary trouble and the cause much disservice. But enough is said in a former note to show, that the doctrine of these individuals, and of the Anti-slavery Societies, with respect to *immediate* abolition, is opposed to the sentiments of unquestioned philanthropists.

Touching the fearful experiment which has been made in Jamaica, it is sincerely hoped that the event will justify the predictions of the advocates of the measure, and disappoint the confident expectations of those who were opposed

praiseworthy objects which had more recently called forth their energies; they might prepare their subjects for more extensive liberty and a larger sphere of action in another hemisphere. Humanity and religion will rejoice at the spectacle of two societies, a little variant at one stage of their history, uniting and co-operating in the design of extirpating what each must regard as the greatest of social and political

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to it. But we already find that the *apprentices*, so called, do not perform half their accustomed labours; that the crops will not be quarter the usual size; and that much insubordination, disturbance and panic have been excited. These consequences have resulted notwithstanding the guard of a strict, vigilant and exacting police, and the terrors of a formidable naval force. It has, indeed, been argued that nothing worse can happen, and that things will grow better when the novelty of freedom shall have worn away. However *desirable* this be, is such a presumption justified by existing facts? The apprentices have yet only heard the sound of abolition, without experiencing its enjoyments. Each set are confined to their appropriate estate as formerly, and though the *disposition* may be imparted, the *power* to do mischief, has been prudently withheld. Union, concert, in a word, the *ability* to conspire, are wanting. But, will not the case be changed, when these apprenticeships shall have expired? The slaves must then be free and *unshackled*, enjoying the *influence*, as well as hearing the *name* of liberty. They will be *their own* masters, (and happy will it be, if they do not prove the *masters* of all around them,) having the right of locomotion, of which they are now deprived. Can it be doubted, that if they want only this power at present, for the commission of fell barbarities, the inclination will not be wanting a few years hence?

In England, certain benevolent spirits seem to be so well satisfied that the work of freedom is accomplished at home, that they have formed a 'British and Foreign Society for the universal abolition of negro slavery,' with a view to aid the cause of emancipation throughout the world. No exception can be taken to the most expansive philanthrophy, provided it does not interfere with the exercise of that charity which *begins at home*. In the case before us, it is apprehended, much remains for enlightened benevolence to undertake. What has the Act of Parliament done? Has it effected that mental *preparation* which is necessary for the ultimate freedom of these *apprentices*? Has it placed the negro child at school, or given to him a spelling book or Bible? If the *act* has not done this, should not a society, whose sympathies—bounded only by the confines of this terraqueous globe—are felt across the Atlantic in the various forms of frothy missives and mad-cap missionaries, attend to so vital a concern? The disenthralling of the *soul* is quite as important as that of the *body*, and must necessarily precede it. Ireland is thought by some to be in an enslaved condition. What would Britain say to a society formed in this country for the establishment of universal liberty, and which, in furtherance of that design, should send out emissaries for the purpose of aiding that mild and amiable abolitionist, Daniel O'Connell, in his patriotic efforts at 'agitation' there?

evils. With such concert of effort we may expect to realize those dazzling visions of the future, which open upon the imagination. We may promise ourselves the ability to explore and know that immense and interesting region which so many travellers have attempted in vain to survey and examine. We may picture to ourselves, though in distant perspective, the certain but complete civilization of a barbarous country; its majestic forests converted into beautiful and luxuriant fields; its mighty rivers rendered the great tributaries of wealth, and the highways of enterprise. We may indulge the hope that the Nile and the Niger may bear upon their swelling waters the power conferred upon navigation by the genius of Fulton, and that those other arts of America which minister to convenience and luxury here, may, in Africa, find a genial and a welcome home. We may hope that the institutions of America, save those which legalize oppression, may be transplanted into the African soil, there to flourish, blossom, and fructify. With such foundations we may expect the elegancies of literature to animate a people whom antiquity knew as illustrious—that English literature the common inheritance of Britons and Americans, may be studied, admired and imitated. For of Africa we may emphatically say,

> "———unto us she hath a spell beyond
> Her name in story, and her long array
> Of mighty shadows—"

We may picture her superstitions dissipated by the sun of science, and her *idolatry* converted into *worship* by the inspired eloquence of her Origens, Tertullians, Cyprians, and Augustines.* It is thus we shall witness the realization of prophetic truth, that 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God;' it is thus we shall witness the Christian temple rearing its heaven-directed spire in the heart of Africa, and illuminating with its divine effulgence the remotest parts of a dreary and benighted land.

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* These great teachers of Christianity in their day, were Africans. In the fifth century, it is estimated that there were four hundred Catholic Bishops in Africa.

COLONIZATION HYMNS.

The following Hymns were written on the sailing of the Ninus, with one hundred and twenty-six enfranchised Slaves, to found the new Colony at Bassa Cove, October 24th, 1834,—the 152d Anniversary of Penn's landing in the Delaware.

BY MRS. SIGOURNEY.

A ship came o'er the ocean
When this Western World was young,
And the forest's solemn shadow
O'er hill and valley hung,—
It came;—o'er trackless billows,
The *Man of Peace* to bear,
And the savage chieftain eyed him
Like lion in his lair.
But 'neath the o'erarching Elm-tree
An oathless truce was made,
And the ambush wild no more sprang
From out the leafy glade,
Nor the dread war-whoop startled
Lone midnight's slumbering band,
For red men took the law of love,
As from a brother's hand;
And they blessed him while he founded
This City of our love,
Where now we strike the lyre of praise,
To Him who rules above.

A ship its sail is spreading,
For that far tropic clime,
Where, nurs'd by fiery sun-beams,
The palm-tree towers sublime.
It seeks that trampled nation,
To every ill a prey,
Whom none have turn'd aside to heal,
When crush'd in dust she lay,—
It seeks that mourning mother,
Whose exil'd children sigh,
In many a stranger region,
'Neath many a foreign sky,—
It brings them, fraught with blessings,
Back to her bleeding breast,
Heaven's peace, and Christ's salvation,
And Freedom's holy rest.
Haste, haste, on snowy pinion,
Thou messenger of love,
For those who sow the seed thou bear'st
Shall reap the fruit above.

BY REV. G. W. BETHUNE.

Home for the exiled nation!
Rest for the weary Slave!
For Africa, Salvation!
Hope points across the wave,
Where Afric's golden river
Meets with the pearly seas,
And graceful palm-trees quiver
To morn and evening breeze.

The God of love has spoken;
"There shall the refuge be,
The captive's chain is broken,
The long oppressed are free."
The ransomed one returneth
With gladness to her shore,
And Ethiopia mourneth
Her ravished sons no more.

The white man's pride no longer
Shall scorn the sable brow,
Nor weaker, to the stronger,
In hopeless bondage bow.
Erect in conscious freedom
The Negro lifts his head—
And God's own hand shall lead him
In glory's path to tread.

The star of hope is lighted,
On Messurado's steep,
And soon, a land benighted
Shall wake from error's sleep—
The sun of God, arising
With beams of joy divine,
Each wandering tribe surprising,
Shall o'er her deserts shine.

☞ The Executive Committee of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, deeply sensible of the importance of despatching a second expedition to Bassa Cove, before the close of the dry season, not only to secure the liberty of the highly interesting company of emigrants at Savannah and Angusta, now imploring our assistance, but to strengthen the little band sent out last month, earnestly invite the co-operation of their fellow citizens.

Where pecuniary aid is inconvenient, contributions in provisions, clothing, implements of husbandry, tools, spinning wheels, a lathe, nails, iron, castings, cutlery, seeds, books, stationery, and the various articles of merchandize necessary for exchanging with the natives for food and labour, will be gratefully received by A. & G. Ralston, No. 4 South Front street, and donations in cash by the Treasurer, Lloyd Mifflin, 252 Spruce street, or by the subscriber, 30 Sansom street.

On behalf of the Committee.

ELLIOTT CRESSON, *Chairman.*

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to A., his heirs, executors, and administrators in trust to pay over (the profits or principal, as the case may be,) to the Treasurer for the time being, of a Society called and known by the name of '*The Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania,*' to be applied to the objects of Colonizing free blacks on the Western Coast of Africa, and elevating their morals and intellects.

AN ACCOUNT, &c.

An account of the Proceedings of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, in connexion with their First Expedition of Coloured emigrants to Liberia, to found a New Colony at Bassa Cove.

The Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, was organized in the month of April last, hy the adoption of a Constitution and the election of a Board of Managers. To this measure its members were determined by the following considerations: 1. A belief that a direct appeal, should be made to the benevolence and Christian zeal of the wealthy and populous capital of Pennsylvania, and of the State at large, in favour of the establishment of a new colony on the coast of Africa: 2. The necessity of prompt measures being taken to carry into effect, the testamentary bequest of doctor Aylett Hawes of Virginia, by which he manumitted more than one hundred slaves on condition of their being sent to Liberia. Acting as auxiliary to the parent Board at Washington, this Society proposes to carry into practice in the new colony, certain principles of political economy, which will meet with the approbation of all unprejudiced minds. This will be done by fostering with more care than hitherto, the agricultural interest; checking the deteriorating influence of petty and itinerant traffickers; maintaining the virtue of sobriety, the nurse and parent of so many other virtues, by obtaining from the colonists a pledge of abstinence from the use of ardent spirits; and by withholding all the common temptations and means for carrying on war, or for engaging in any aggressive steps with the native population of Africa.

The announcement of these views and intentions, at several successive public meetings, at the same time that the cause of colonization in general was ably advocated, made a highly favourable impression on the community. The results were shown in the addition of several hundred members to the Society, and the collection of several thousand dollars towards carrying its contemplated measures into effect.

The better to ascertain the precise conditions on which freedom was granted by Dr. Hawes to his slaves, and especially how far the laws of the state of Virginia would apply to them in case of any delay in sending them to Africa, a commission,

consisting of Messrs. Cresson and Naylor, was despatched for this purpose by the Board of Managers. These gentlemen were also authorised to confer, on their way to Virginia, with the Board of the American Colonization Society at Washington; and, as the latter was unable, for want of funds, to carry into effect the bequest of Dr. Hawes, to obtain from them due powers to act in the matter.

In conformity with their instructions, (by resolutions of the Board of Managers,) the commission proceeded to Virginia, and visited, in the first place, the county town of Rappahanock, where they procured from the records, a copy of the will of Dr. Hawes. Thence they went to the residence of one of the special executors, Howard F. Thornton, Esq. on whose plantation were, at the time, resident seventy-eight of the future emigrants. Of these, forty were males and thirty-eight were females, of various ages, from sixty down to two years of age. Many of the men are well versed in various handicraft employments, four of them being blacksmiths, two carpenters, two shoemakers, two stone-masons, and one weaver. "Most of them are very intelligent; some of them can read and write, and all of excellent characters. Domestic manufactures have been the constant employment of many of the females, and we are assured that they have arrived at great perfection in them; besides, nearly one half of them are accomplished seamstresses. In addition to the slaves above mentioned, the husband of one of them, living in the neighbourhood, has been kindly liberated by his master, the Rev. *Francis Thornton*, to accompany his family to Liberia. He is a carpenter of most excellent character, hardy and hale, and one of the best workmen in the place; he has a large quantity of tools, and will be a valuable acquisition to the Colony. His master is a warm and devoted colonizationist, and to him we are indebted for much valuable information relative to our mission, as well as for many other favours kindly rendered us."—*Report of the Commission.*

The thirty-one coloured persons under the care of Mr. Hawes, forming the other division of the slaves manumitted by Dr. Hawes, were represented to the commission as all willing and desirous of going to Liberia. The greater part of the whole number are members of the Baptist Church. They are industrious and temperate, have always been kindly and tenderly taken care of, and abundantly supplied with every thing that could make them comfortable. "We attended," says the commission, "at one of their religious

meetings, and were greatly gratified by their exercises. We submitted to them our project of making them a separate establishment in Africa, and it met with their, their master's, and friends' entire approbation. We conversed with them upon their future prospects in Africa, explained to them the situation of the country, and informed them of its products, resources, and the capabilities of its soil, answered their inquiries, and were equally gratified and surprised at their intelligence. Upon the whole, we think them eminently fitted for good colonists, possessing among themselves all the resources of a little community—we believe that they will ably perform their duty. Let us, therefore, be not remiss in the performance of ours; and, under the favour of Providence, the success of the experiment cannot long remain problematical."*

The next step in the discharge of their delegated trust was for the Commission to ascertain fully the sentiments and views of the Parent Board at Washington, respecting the conditions on which the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania should charge itself with the embarkation and transportation to Africa of the liberated slaves of Dr. Hawes; and with the guardianship of these people when settled there. The final result was an acquiescence, in the resolution of the Board at Washington by the Society in Pennsylvania. This resolution is as follows:

"That the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania be informed, that, as auxiliary to this [the American Colonization Society,] the slaves of the late Dr. Hawes will be transferred to them, to be sent to Liberia, and supported there by them, in a separate settlement or community under the superintendence of such agent and of such local laws or regulations, as may be adopted by the said Society, and approved of by the Board; but said community to be considered as a part of the Colony of Liberia, and subject to the general laws of the Colony in all respects, as the citizens now there; and that so soon as said Society shall signify their acceptance of said conditions, the said slaves shall be formally transferred to them, together with the sum left for their transportation by the will of Dr. Hawes."

In acceding to this resolution, the Pennsylvania Society

* It ought, to quicken the zeal and benevolence of the friends of humanity, to be known, that during the short career of this Society, many offers of large bodies of slaves have been made to it from several Southern states—the owners generously offering their gratuitous emancipation, so soon as we could extend to them the boon of Colonization.

expressly stipulated for the right of making such modifications and reforms of existing laws as to enable it, in the new Colony, to give more encouragement to agriculture, to prohibit the importation, manufacture, and sale of ardent spirits, and to adopt an improved plan for supplying the public stores, and for the issue, by gift or sale, of their contents, to the coloured and native inhabitants. These reservations have been admitted by the parent Board. It was also understood by the two Boards, (at Washington and Philadelphia,) that in case the preparations at Bassa Cove, for the reception of the new emigrants sent out by the Pennsylvania Society, should not be sufficiently matured to allow of their being landed at once, a temporary asylum is to be furnished for them in some of the present settlements in Liberia.

The preliminaries having been satisfactorily adjusted, prompt and vigorous measures were taken by the Executive Committee of the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Colonization Society, to make the requisite purchases of stores, utensils, clothing, and other supplies, for the future colonists; and to charter a vessel for the transportation of both persons and goods. Success attended their efforts; and on the 24th of October last, the good ship Ninus set sail from Norfolk, Virginia, with one hundred and twenty-six coloured emigrants on board. Of these, were the manumitted slaves of Dr. Hawes, one hundred and nine in number; the carpenter already mentioned, freed by the Rev. Francis Thornton; a father of a family whose members were emigrants, and who was purchased a few days preceding; and a little girl, also freed by purchase. In addition to these, was a small body of fourteen persons, who had been freed by Mrs. Page, the sister of Bishop Meade, and who were offered a passage, although destined for the old Colony. But for all the particulars connected with the embarkation of the emigrants, the reader is referred to the following report, by Elliott Cresson, Esq. on the part of a Committee deputed by the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Society, for the purpose. It will be seen that even in this early stage of its labours, the Society is fully alive to the importance of education keeping pace with colonization. In the attainments of Mr. Hankinson, all the friends of the cause have abundant reason to indulge in sanguine hopes of success.

It may be well to mention, in this place, that the superindent of public schools,—the vice-agent,—and the physician, who is a licentiate in Surgery, sailed in June last for the new Colony, from New York, in the Jupiter. Though young, Dr.

McDowell has seen much of the world in his profession, as a voyager and traveller; and he will, it is presumed, be on the spot ready to receive and give such counsel to the newly arrived emigrants, as will be required by a due regard for their health and comfort.

The cost of the present expedition is about $8000, viz. $2500 for charter of ship, and $5500 for stores and appropriate goods.

By the terms of the will of Dr. Hawes, twenty dollars a head were allowed, and have been paid by his executors, towards defraying the expenses of the emigration of his liberated slaves.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

The Committee appointed by the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, to superintend the sailing of their First Expedition, respectfully Report:

That they lost no time in complying with the wishes of the Board, and at Fredericksburg, on the 19th inst., found that portion of the slaves (eighty-one in number,) which were from Dr. Hawes' late residence in Rappahannock county, already arrived. These people having become acquainted with one of the Committee last summer, expressed the most lively joy on recognizing a friend in whom they confided; testifying their gratitude for the counsel then imparted, as having been instrumental in counteracting the efforts of individuals interested in defeating the benevolent intentions of their late master, and thus securing them a boon, the very prospect of which filled them with gladness. It was a pleasing indication of their future habits, that most of them were found industriously employed in such labour as they could obtain for the purpose of adding to the slender means they possessed. To foster these valuable characteristics on the voyage, we purchased a supply of leather to give employment to the shoemakers; and instructions were given to have as much of our stock of wollens and cottons made into garments as circumstances would warrant, our complement embracing shoemakers, taylors, and seamstresses, as well as carpenters, bricklayers, masons, farmers, blacksmiths, weavers, spinners, a dyer, cooper, waggon maker, and collier.

On the ensuing day, the remaining thirty-one from Dr. Hawes' estate in Caroline county, Virginia, having arrived, arrangements were made for proceeding to Norfolk in the steamboat Rappahannock, the following morning. There being some warm friends of the Colonization cause at Fredericksburg, your Committee took advantage of the interest excited, and at a meeting of their young men, a new Branch, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society was organized. Indeed, we could not but remark, that while the whole South was indignant at the late attempts in the East, our mission was greeted with a warm welcome by all the friends of the negro, embracing a very large portion of the good sense and good feeling of the community; and we cannot hesitate to believe, that a steady perseverance in these benevolent efforts, will speedily pave the way for the moral elevation and eventual emancipation of the large body of slaves held in that great State.

The 22d was ushered in by a bright morning, which permitted many of their kind friends to accompany this highly interesting group of one hundred and twelve (including a parent who was brought a few days previously, that he might accompany a wife and seven children,—a little girl for whom three hundred dollars was paid,—and a very valuable mechanic gratuitously emancipated by the Rev. Francis Thornton, in preference to selling him for one thousand dollars)—on board the boat which was chartered for the purpose. Many being highly esteemed members, and two of them ministers in the Baptist Church, they had been organized into a congregation, which was joined in the evening in their religious services, by the Rev. Mr. Hill, of New England, when several addresses were made and appropriate hymns sung. Early next morning we reached Norfolk, and the Ninus having sailed from Philadelphia on the 14th, (Wm. Penn's one hundred and ninetieth birth day,) was fortunately descried on entering the harbour; and, by running alongside, in a few minutes our people and their baggage were safely deposited on her decks.

It was gratifying to learn from John M'Phail Esq. so long known as the faithful disinterested friend of the Society, that on an examination of our supplies, nothing was left for him to provide, and that it was the most complete outfit that had ever proceeded to Africa. The emigrants, on finding how amply every want had been anticipated, and the commodious accommodations of the ship,—her outfit having cost nearly eight thousand dollars, two thousand two hundred dollars of

which was bequeathed by the will of Dr. Hawes, renewed their grateful acknowledgments, and seemed to forget the pain of separation in the prospect of comfort and independence in the land of their forefathers; but above all, in the providential opening thus presented for meliorating the condition of their heathen brethren.

In addition to our own emigrants, fourteen entrusted to the parent Society by Mrs. Page, the sister of Bishop Meade, and intended for the old Colony, arrived, and were gratuitously provided with passage and provisioning to Monrovia, by us. On the same evening, Edward Y. Hankinson and wife, arrived from New York with an ample stock of agricultural implements, and tools for his workshops, just in time to join the expedition. Of this invaluable couple, so highly qualified for the performance of the duties assigned them by the Ladies Association of Philadelphia, your committee feel almost at a loss to speak in adequate terms; his versatile mechanical genius, and amiable and cheerful disposition, mingled with an intense love for long oppressed Africa, manifested by both, eminently qualifying them for their arduous and responsible station. The climate of Africa, having been prescribed as the last resort in the case of Stephen Barnes, late a student in the Theological Seminary of Virginia, a passage in the Ninus was proffered, and gratefully accepted. Should he survive, we anticipate much from his devoted Missionary spirit, and his mechanical abilities. In the more probable event of his death, candour will surely not charge it to his removal from a more salubrious atmosphere: a result deemed inevitable by his physicians, had he staid a few weeks longer in his native clime, so strongly marked were his consumptive symptoms.

Happily the return of that day, so conspicuous in the annals of Pennsylvania, as the anniversary of her foundation, and the landing of our pilgrim fathers—*the 24th day of October*, was in all its autumnal brightness; and at ten o'clock, the whole body of emigrants was assembled on the deck of the Ninus, in company with a number of their religious friends. A feeling of solemnity pervaded the assemblage, and the Throne of Grace was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Howell, the Baptist minister of Norfolk—the Rev. Mr. Boyden, of the Episcopal Church, then made a concise and appropriate address; after which, Bishop Heber's Missionary Hymn was sung with touching effect, followed by the Rev. P. F. Phelps, of the Presbyterian Church of New

York, invoking the Divine blessing on this beneficent enterprise. The service was concluded with a very feeling expression of thanks, on the part of the Colonists, by Aaron P. Davis, one of their ministers. The ship having obtained her clearance, dropped down into the stream at noon, and went to sea early on the morning of the 26th, with a fine leading breeze. Late on the preceding evening, we took our final leave of our protegees; and, as the charge has so frequently been brought against the Society, that the objects of its bounty are coerced away, we took much pains to ascertain their real sentiments. But even on the eve of departure, no lingering regret seemed to oppress them. They acknowledged with great apparent sincerity, their deep sense of the kindness extended towards them last summer, in our sending down a committee, whose frank exposition of the disadvantages, as well as advantages of their new mode of life, had relieved their minds from the fears artfully excited by the enemies of Colonization; and on reminding them of the threats that we intended to sell them to the slavers, the loud laugh of derision, at once evinced their contempt for the charge, and their confidence in our friendship and good faith.

Your Committee cannot close this report without adverting with gratitude to the signal success which has hitherto been graciously permitted to attend every step of the Society, mingled with humble trust that our institution, based on the principles of benevolence and religion, will continue to enjoy the Divine blessing. Among these, the selection of emigrants, imbued with feelings of Christian love toward the benighted children of Africa, and the rigid exclusion of ardent spirits, stand prominently forth. The testimonial appended to this report, (see Appendix B,) respecting Isaac Walker, one of the one hundred and twenty-six slaves whose freedom has been secured by this first effort of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, presents, we have every reason to believe, a fair specimen of the character of a large proportion of our colonists. Every adult most cheerfully gave the temperance pledge proposed to them; and, as Capt. Parsons, the respectable commander of the Ninus, does not permit the use of spirits on board his ship, she has proceeded on her voyage in strict accordance with the principles of our Constitution.

It appeared to inspire most of these interesting people with new confidence, and to excite a spirit of manly inde-

pendence, when the judicious principles, adopted by our Board for their benefit, were detailed to them. In that of confining the commerce of the Colony, at its first settlement, to the Colonial Factory, they foresaw the preservation of the natives from the rapacity of unprincipled traders, and winning them to a just appreciation of the advantages of civilized life;—a new impulse to their own agricultural and mechanical pursuits;—in its profits, a provision for meeting the public wants;—and hence the means of supplying themselves, at a moderate price, out of the fruits of their own industry, instead of being a charge on our bounty. We have every reason to believe, that by thus implanting new and powerful motives to virtuous action, much will be done to conquer habits too frequently the concomitants of their former unfortunate position in society.

In sending out this first expedition, the great principles upon which this Society is to act, should be kept distinctly in view:

1. Entire temperance in every colonist:

2. Total abstinence from trade in ardent spirits and arts of war:

3. An immediate Christian influence and operation upon surrounding heathen:

All designed to accomplish the second article of our constitution,—"to provide for civilizing and christianizing Africa, through the direct instrumentality of coloured emigrants from the United States."

And under the belief that this institution, if adequately supported, will confer upon the African race an inestimable blessing, and secure a salubrious and prosperous home for thousands of slaves, whose benevolent masters are now preparing them for the rational enjoyment of liberty; *but more especially at this juncture, to meet the pressing solicitations, and secure the liberty of a body of colonists of high character in Georgia, long anxious to emigrate to Africa,* (See Appendix A,) *we earnestly and affectionately solicit the patronage of our fellow-citizens, to enable us to comply with their wishes,—strengthen the colony now sent forth,—present a new barrier against the prosecution of the slave-trade,—and hasten the regeneration of that long oppressed continent.*

On behalf of the Committee.

ELLIOTT CRESSON.

10*th mo.* 31, 1834.

APPENDIX A.

Savannah, Sept. 27th, 1834.

ELLIOTT CRESSON, ESQ.

Dear Sir,—Your very polite and truly interesting letter, under date of the 5th instant, came safe to hand, together with a copy of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania. I assure you, Sir, the perusal of both afforded us a large share of gratification, and certainly demand from us a proportionate degree of thanks, which we cannot find words adequate to express. But we can only hope and pray that kind heaven may reward yourself and all of the friends of this truly charitable cause with an eternal crown of glory in heaven. You requested in yours, that in my reply, I should give some of my views respecting the Colony, and whether it would suit me to go with the October expedition. I regret that it will not be in my power to do so, as the notice is too short for myself and friends to do our unsettled business, sell our effects, &c.; it would require at least two or three months notice, if possible, for us to be well prepared for our journey. My views respecting the principles and propriety of our emigrating to Africa, I shall briefly attempt to give. At an early part of my life, Sir, I commenced to consider upon, and endeavoured to find out, by reading the history of the world generally, in what part thereof the coloured man could enjoy true liberty, but in all of my researches I see but *two* places, Hayti and Liberia; and to the former my most prominent objections are, their *religion*, and their being *inured to revolution and bloodshed*, which I do not exactly tolerate, only when it cannot be avoided; since that time I see accounts of the coloured settlements in Canada; this I do not altogether condemn in others, but will not *suit me*—their proximity to the *whites*, who must retain a degree of prejudice toward them, particularly as their population increases; this we seen manifested in their objection to their first settling there. I have been told about Mexico, Texas, and of lands bordering on the Pacific ocean; but none of these places will suit me. Africa, the land of our progenitors, seems to me to be our *only hope*. Soon after the Colony of Liberia was established, although my circumstances would not admit my then going to it, I thought that it was the most interesting opening of Providence for the elevation of the coloured man, and for the civilization and christianizing of

Africa, that ever was thought of; and I do believe yet, that the coloured family will, in days to come, when oppositions and prejudices are gone by, exultingly acknowledge that the day the Colonization Society was formed, was certainly the most auspicious day which bears record in their history, and will bless the day and the names of those who first thought about Africa; and our sons and daughters will bless us for conducting them to that land of liberty and equality, and I hope of true piety also. Sir, much has been said here, as well as in other places, about the Colonization Society; some pronounce it *chimerical*, and must soon sink into insignificance; some make objections saying it is unhealthy; others that although we live in a slave state, yet we enjoy many advantages, and will have to part with many luxuries and comforts which we are accustomed to. All this may be true; but they weigh a *poor* proportion in the scale of *proper consideration.* Another objection is brought forward, and which is believed also by many, that the Colonization Society scheme consists of more policy than philanthropy; consequently, they do not approbate its proceedings, &c. But for my part, I have looked into their plans and proceedings with a very impartial eye, and although they, like every other society, may have some faulty members, yet, on the aggregate, are just in their views, and I do believe their work to be that of pure philanthropy and good will toward the, at present, degraded descendants of Africa; and I do conscientiously believe that the founders and true friends of this Institution, ought to have their names enrolled with those of a Howard, a Wilberforce, and a Benezet, and have their remembrance indelibly engraved on the hearts and affections of every lover of freedom on earth; and I do candidly believe, that this little republic, founded through their goodness in Africa, will, in less than a century hence, hardly find its rival in the tropical part of the world. Our coloured brethren who have gone as pioneers before us, condescended to address us by a circular, and otherwise inviting us to their delightful country, and, as Christians, our sympathies certainly ought to be aroused at the call of the poor heathen, saying, "come over and teach us the rudiments of civilization and religion," and ought we to deafen our ears to this cry of mercy, or suffer these kind invitations to go by unembraced? For my part, *I do want to go*, although not exactly as a missionary or teacher, yet as a helper in this vast field of moral usefulness, and if my life is spared to get to that country, I will

be better able to determine what course to pursue. The abolitionists have many good men enlisted in their party, but many among them have suffered their zeal to take the place of their reason, and thereby have materially injured the coloured population, and have brought their Society into disrepute. The free coloured people in this part of the country seem generally determined to remain where they are, preferring the empty name of freedom, to that genuine freedom which they cannot obtain but in Liberia. I have received a number of letters from Liberia, from time to time, viz. for seven or eight years back, and most of them from some of their most intelligent and respectable men, most of which speaks highly of their prospects in that country, and recommend my going on. Most of these gentlemen recommend my going over in the rainy months, or near it as possible; saying, at that time, the air is purer than any other time; however, I do not myself regard what season I can get an opportunity.

We have received a letter lately from our friend, T. S. Clay, in which he mentioned of receiving a letter from you on the subject of our uniting in your intended Colony. We expect to hear from him again shortly on the subject. We will endeavour to make out a memorial to your Society soon, which we will forward by mail. Will you do us the special favour of sending us an answer as soon as possible. We rejoice to find so respectable a set of people as those of the late Dr. Hawes going to your settlement. I hope his example will be pursued by many others.

I have the honour, dear Sir, of subscribing myself,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL BENEDICT.

APPENDIX B.

Monte Video, Oct. 10th, 1834.

Isaac Walker was left to me by Capt. John A. Thornton, by his will of 1817. Isaac has been to me, as he has been to Capt. Thornton, a valuable and a faithful servant; and upon one occasion, saved me (as I shall ever believe) from injury or death, when attacked by a ruffian white man. I have, in consideration of his faithfulness, given him my full permission to go to Bassa Cove, in Liberia, where I trust God Almighty, in his great mercy, may bless and protect him.

Isaac is going in company with the servants of the late Dr. Aylett Hawes, (amongst whom he has a wife,) which servants were taken under the patronage of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, and under the care of which Society, Isaac wishes to place himself.

It is with great pleasure that I give him this letter, bearing testimony to his worth, and earnestly recommending him to their kind attention.

Isaac is a consistent member of Christ's Church, of the Baptist denomination; but has ever manifested a liberal and Christian spirit towards his Christian brethren of other persuasions.

It would be needless to say that he is an honest man,—of this, his Christian character will testify; he is an excellent and faithful workman,—a polite accommodating man. It is not of necessity that he goes to Liberia; his character is so well established in this part of Virginia that he has been for some years doing business for himself. I lament very much that it is not in my power to add to his purse, and I am sorry that my necessities have been such that I could not permit him to lay up for this removal, his whole gains for years past, but hope that the agent of the Society will meet any deficiencies in his funds; and I do hereby authorize Isaac to draw on me for fifteen dollars. I know the value of such men as Isaac to the colony, and I have no doubt that every encouragement will be given to him. This letter, though designed to be seen by the said agent, I give to him in this little book, to be kept by him as a memorial of me, this 10th day of October, 1834, in testimony whereof, I have set my name,

FRANCIS THORNTON, Jr.

Pastor of the Rappahannock Church, under the care of The Presbytery of Winchester, Synod of Virginia.

LIST OF

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

Legacy of Dr. Aylett Hawes,	$2200 00
A Friend,	1000 00
Elliott Cresson,	1000 00
Beulah Sansom,	200 00
Gerard Ralston,	100 00
Joseph Warner,	100 00
John Connell,	100 00
Sarah E. Cresson,	100 00
Paul Beck, jun.	100 00
Alexander Henry,	50 00
Samuel Richards,	50 00
Joseph Dugan,	50 00
Hon. Samuel Breck,	50 00
Miss Butler,	50 00
Thomas Butler,	50 00
Lewis R. Ashhurst,	50 00
Richard D. Wood,	50 00
James N. Dickson,	50 00
Benj. S. Janney, M.D.	50 00
Edward Tatnall,	50 00
John S. Henry,	50 00
Donation of a Citizen,	50 00
A. G. Ralston,	50 00
Josiah White,	50 00
Matthew Newkirk,	50 00
Washington Jackson,	50 00
Abraham Miller,	50 00
Joseph R. Ingersoll,	50 00
Samuel Jaudon,	50 00
Franklin Lee,	50 00
Ann Humphreys,	40 00
James Rice,	35 00
T. Ellicott & Son,	35 00
Peter Lesley,	30 00
Mary Cresson,	30 00
Rebecca Eaton,	30 00
Z. P. Grant, per E. Caldwell,	30 00
Levi Dickson,	30 00
William W. Keen,	30 00
John Elliott, (Druggist,)	30 00
W. E. Garrett,	30 00
Thomas Wattson,	30 00
Samuel Jackson, M.D.	30 00
Benjamin H. Warder,	30 00
William Craig,	30 00
Right Rev. Bishop White,	30 00
John H. Warder,	25 00
Mrs Carswell,	20 00
David Weatherly,	20 00
M. W. Baldwin,	20 00
Field, Fobes & Co.	20 00
Ellis Yarnall,	20 00
J. W. Gibbs, (annual,)	10 00
George Abbott, do.	10 00
Charles Yarnall,	10 00
Anna Frost,	10 00
W. M. Magoffin,	$10 00
Nathaniel Chauncey,	10 00
James Starr,	10 00
Joseph S. Riley,	10 00
Ezra Stiles Ely, D.D.	10 00
Two Ladies, per L. R. Ashhurst,	10 00
A Lady, per S. Caldwell,	10 00
C. S. Wurts,	10 00
J. & W. Nassau,	9 00
Dr. S. Murphy,	5 00
Miss Freeman,	5 00
S. E. Cresson, jun.	5 00
Robert Bald,	5 00
John Lambert,	5 00
F. V. Krug,	5 00
Reeves, Buck & Co.	5 00
J. R. Davis,	5 00
C. P. Bayard,	5 00
William Musgrave,	5 00
John Richardson,	5 00
C. Tingley,	5 00
Frederic Fraley,	5 00
C. Collins,	5 00
Michael Baker,	5 00
Mrs. Dewar,	5 00
Edward R. Biddle,	5 00
William Stevenson,	5 00
William M. M'Main, (annual,)	5 00
John Binns, do.	5 00
William B. Cooper, do.	5 00
Sylvanus Lehman, do.	5 00
Rev. J. M. Dickey, do.	5 00
Casper Morris, M.D. do.	5 00
William Rowland, do.	5 00
Edward W. Howell, do.	4 00
And a large number of small Subscriptions and Donations.	
John Dickson, Groceries,	39 12
John Elliott, Drugs,	42 42
Budd West, do.	18 00
John Harned, Tinware,	31 17
G. M. Elkinton, Soap,	30 00
H. Shriver, provisions,	33 50
Collins & Sherer, Paper,	23 00
Uriah Hunt, do.	6 75
Weigand & Snowden, Surgical Instruments,	25 00
John Roher & Sons, do.	15 00
S. C. Sheppard, do.	10 00
H. Schiveley, do.	15 00
C. Collins, Clothing,	10 00
Russell & Martien, Printing,	10 00
John Reid, Merchandise,	8 67
J. C. Hand, do.	5 00
W. M. Muzzey, Glass,	5 00
Matthew Carey, Pamphlets,	5 00

COLLECTIONS IN CHURCHES, &c.

1st Presbyterian Church,	$40 02
2d do. do.	77 13
6th do. do.	45 03
7th do. do.	24 00
8th do. do.	11 05
10th do. do.	58 46
Dr. Wylie's, do.	30 28
Dr. Cuyler's, do. (& a breast pin)	28 40
Methodist Ch. per Rev. Ch. Pitman,	46 02
do. do. per Rev. J. Lybrand,	9 13
do. do. per do.	5 75
Methodist Church, W. Chester, per S. Hallowell,	6 00
Oxford Ch. per Rev. J. M. Dickey,	$10 00
Germantown Ch. per Dr. Neill,	15 75
St. John's Ch. per Rev. G. Boyd,	6 35
Presbyterian Church, Wilkesbarre, per Rev. J. Dorrance,	20 00
Cumberland Co. Colonization Soc.	62 89
Musical Fund Hall,	36 66
Northern Exchange,	25 35
Juvenile Coll. by Charlotte Sproal,	5 12
do. do. by Eliza Cone,	5 84
do. Society of Polk's School,	5 00

SBN 611334